

A HANDBOOK ON URBAN REDEVELOPMENT FOR CITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

Suggesting certain powers and
procedures, and an integrated
long-term program, for dealing
with slums and blighted urban areas

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U. S. FEDERAL HOUSING ADMINISTRATION
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FOREWORD

An obligation is imposed upon the Federal Housing Administrator by section 209 of the National Housing Act to "cause to be made such statistical surveys and legal and economic studies as he shall deem useful to guide the development of housing and the creation of a sound mortgage market in the United States."

In the background of its operations in cities, the Federal Housing Administration has long been conscious of the menace of urban blighted areas and the consequent uncertainty of satisfactory municipal financial conditions. Therefore, in the middle of the year 1940, my predecessor as Administrator of the Federal Housing Administration, Hon. Stewart McDonald, directed that the broad problems of cities with respect to their blighted areas should be made the subject of special studies. This responsibility was delegated to Mr. E. S. Draper, Assistant Administrator.

The Federal Housing Administration has a Nation-wide and constructive interest in this situation, partly because its own insured long-term mortgages aggregate more than $3\frac{1}{4}$ billion dollars of insured loans on residential construction, chiefly in cities.

Decay near the centers of urban communities has progressed to such a point that reasonable men may well be concerned about the municipalities' increasingly precarious financial condition. Irrespective of the methods used to finance solutions of this problem of slums and blight, the fact remains that this is a problem that must sooner or later be solved.

As city population and industry decentralize, centrally located areas of the urban community lose extensive tax-paying capacity. With close in values thus lowered, the remaining diminishing population pays ever higher per-capita taxes, a large part of which goes for debt service. Central areas not only pay relatively more taxes, but actually pay extra to still further bleed themselves financially. Complications arising from this are many and varied, including those of communication, transportation and various other public services.

There is need for careful diagnosis by the local communities themselves, supplemented by adequate measures of treatment in a program of action. What has taken so many years to break down cannot be remedied speedily or by merely applying palliatives. The redevelopment of urban communities must have its roots in local understanding and in local enterprise, both public and private. A satisfactory ac-

tion program will involve mutual adjustments of (1) public finance, (2) private finance, (3) planning, and (4) administration.

This handbook is the first result of the Federal Housing Administration's special investigations. Its preparation arises out of the belief that cities and their satellite suburbs can be helped by a statement of the problems and of a possible, over-all, integrated program for redevelopment, one in which the basic principles are offered as sound and worthy of calm scrutiny.

Because cities must learn how to take action, to correct their mistakes, to get rid of that which is bad and prevent its return, to modernize and to redevelop, because of this, the handbook stresses planning. The very great majority of communities throughout the country have ignored planning in its broader and more significant aspects, or they have paid little more than lip service to an official planning agency. In too many such instances the planning agencies have been given neither the necessary responsibilities nor the financial support to produce adequately what is needed.

This handbook does not take the place of valuable guides of other kinds. Its outline of procedures, although primarily directed to early crystallization of redevelopment studies, should also be helpful in problems of peripheral areas where new developments are going on. A careful reading of the handbook should reveal, among other things, the need for planning, the reasonableness of certain procedures, the directions in which more extended studies would be profitable, and warnings drawn from experience concerning some of the more obvious errors that may result from too casual or impatient procedure. The Table of Contents itself reveals the program.

The intention is not that public officials and interested citizens should accept this document without question or as if it were a complete, final and detailed book of instructions. Nor can they fail, on their own account, to study the problem of what their own urban community should become in the future, as a complex economic entity which, after all, must be properly related physically, economically, and socially to its region and to the Nation.

It is not suggested now that the proposals embodied herein are, in any sense, final answers to the problems presented. We hope, however, that the thinking embodied in the text will serve as a guide and impetus to local investigations by the communities themselves, and that their conclusions will be reached only after thorough consideration of local and regional conditions.

ABNER H. FERGUSON,
Administrator.

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

FEDERAL HOUSING ADMINISTRATION,
Washington, D. C., November 1, 1941.

HON. ABNER H. FERGUSON,
Administrator, Federal Housing Administration,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. FERGUSON: I transmit to you herewith "A Handbook on Urban Redevelopment for Cities in the United States," the preparation of which has been a part of my responsibility in studying the question of blighted areas in cities.

If a fire were to wipe out a large number of city blocks, any citizen at once would recognize the need for rebuilding. Physical signs of deterioration seem to be ignored by these same citizens, even though the signs indicate that forces more destructive than a conflagration are continually and insidiously eating away the vitality of large areas. Although different parts of the community have seemed to be independent of one another, deterioration due to blight in a few areas is similar to the eating away of building foundations by termites; the part first attacked becomes so useless or so dangerous that the stability of the whole structure is dangerously affected.

There is increasing discussion of the serious predicament in which our cities find themselves because of their blight and the consequent financial repercussions. Much of this discussion, oriented toward the need for Nation-wide activities in the "post emergency period," concerns what the Federal Government might do and how it should be organized to do it. It is my conviction that, important as are the questions relating to possible assistance by the Federal Government (and we refer to them), those at the level of local governments are no less vital. Practically all our urban communities, with relatively few exceptions, are in need of advice and assistance that will aid them to realize the scope and intricacy of the problems they face and will be helpful in guiding their study of those problems.

It is the purpose of the handbook to meet that need. It is also hoped that this presentation will stimulate constructive thinking by technicians and laymen alike, and that their comment and suggestions for improvement will be forthcoming. A later edition may follow which would include worth-while suggestions that may have been received.

In preparing such a document as this there are two possible approaches. One method is to use over-simplified generalization, and to omit anything indicating complexity. The other approach, which we use, faces facts. It presupposes that there are intelligent and earnestly interested persons who now are uninformed. It assumes the desire of readers to know in detail and to be informed with a degree of exactness as to technique and method necessary for accomplishment systematically. We believe that planning procedures, properly exercised, need no apologetics, no timid salesmanship.

I wish to make certain acknowledgments. Major responsibility for the handbook has been in the hands of Frederick Bigger, F. A. I. A., who is a past president of the American Institute of Planners and who for many years has been a member of the Pittsburgh City Planning Commission and is currently its chairman. Continuously collaborating in a consulting capacity, we have had the assistance of Henry V. Hubbard, F. A. S. L. A., former Norton professor of regional planning at Harvard University, currently a member of the National Capital Parks and Planning Commission and for many years both a practitioner and consultant in city planning, in the design of park systems, and in housing. Associated intimately throughout the undertaking is James S. Taylor, housing economist of this organization. Seward H. Mott, Director of our Land Planning Division, has reviewed the manuscript of the handbook in the light of his knowledge of needs in cities all over the country. For helpful suggestions received from others, both within and outside the Federal Housing Administration, I make general but grateful acknowledgment.

Sincerely yours,

E. S. DRAPER,
Assistant Administrator.

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PART I

CITIES NEED REHABILITATION AND REDEVELOPMENT

Constructive Action Needed.

(1) For many years urban slums and blighted areas have been spreading, becoming more intensified, and breaking out in new spots. Collectively they have reached startling proportions. This has been a long process of degeneration and neglect, bringing grave financial and economic difficulties.

(2) Few persons realize the length of time during which men have been pioneering, opening up new continents and new areas in those continents, developing raw lands into cultivated lands, transforming rural areas into villages and urban areas, continuously subdividing land into ever smaller parcels for sale into multitudes of ownership. Habits have been acquired which gradually have crystallized in laws and legal procedures. It has grown ever easier to break up land and distribute it. For hundreds of years, against this background and really as a part of it, cities have been developed and their areas divided and subdivided. All the customs and legal procedures facilitated the breaking up processes, and did nothing to facilitate the regrouping of parcels into larger tracts. Men did not see the need to make it equally easy to recapture private land for streets and other public open spaces, to make it easy to vacate streets, to replan and redevelop larger parcels of land.

(3) Property owners and public officials alike relied on the assumption that there would be a continuing growth and demand which automatically would do away with out-of-date structures. It did not occur to them to provide, and there was no way available to set aside, sufficient funds to modernize obsolescent neighborhoods. The best they could do was to replace some worn-out public facilities.

(4) Now, with the possibilities that city growth may be retarded further, that it may be stopped, or even that in some instances cities and their urban environments may shrink in population and in demand for land, with these possibilities and the need to consider conservation and rehabilitation, local communities are concerned to know what to do about the problems that confront them.

(5) All suggestions of better procedure, and the underlying problems which must be solved, should be studied together, *and now*. They can be dealt with best on the basis of a carefully planned program of action which is conceived as a continuous whole and is thought through step by step.

(6) No proposed action can be considered effective if it is to result in creating further difficulties of the kind that it is intended to cure. Remedies cannot be appropriate if there is no understanding of the causes of the conditions which are to be remedied.

Symptoms of the Conditions Requiring Remedy: A Basic Cause.

(7) There is extensive literature upon the subject of urban blight. Most of the current output is general in character, and descriptive of existing conditions. The following symptoms, which are listed at random and which may appear in various cities in varying combinations and intensities, are fairly typical.

(a) Overcrowding of many families in dwellings that were designed for fewer families, and in other dwellings never designed to meet decent standards.

(b) Buildings that have been converted from one use to another, and that are unsuited to the new use.

(c) Buildings not kept in repair, many of which have deteriorated below the point of financially justifiable repair under present circumstances.

(d) Districts in which inharmonious residential and nonresidential uses are badly mixed, with detriment to both.

(e) Undesirable land uses and building occupancy that persist in violation of local laws and regulations of the zoning, housing, sanitation, and safety codes.

(f) Overcrowding of the land by buildings, with insufficient private and public open spaces for light, air, and recreation.

(g) Such intermixture of inharmonious racial or national groups as has prevented or retarded social unification of the neighborhood.

(h) Community and individual neglect of upkeep of neighborhood; poor "municipal housekeeping."

(i) Continued demolition of buildings with no constructive use made of the vacant lots thus created, and no new construction undertaken in the locality.

(j) Precarious financial status of developed properties, evidenced among other things by inability of owners to make

reasonable returns on their investments, by mortgage foreclosures, by tax delinquencies, etc.

(k) Inadequate educational, recreational, and cultural facilities for the congested (and probably low-income) population.

(l) Deterioration, both physical and financial, in central business districts, directly revealed by deficiencies in private and public accommodations for the businesses and the traffic of these somewhat unmodernized districts. Somewhat less obviously revealed is the loss of profitable patronage due to the flight of population from close-in localities to more and more remote places of residence where rival business enterprises have become available to the decentralized population.

(8) Each of the symptoms just listed becomes, in its turn, a cause of further deterioration and obsolescence. Such causes are interrelated, ramified, and difficult to trace back to some one basic cause that can be agreed upon as a condition which must be attacked first. There is danger that some asserted basic cause will be so emphasized, by those who see the need to do something, that confusion of purpose will thwart the execution of a constructive program.

(9) It is enough to state here, in very general terms, that the basic cause is neglect. There has been no public policy and regulation (i. e., community agreement upon rules of common procedure) which would prevent any built-up areas from being so badly planned, so densely occupied, so overcrowded with buildings, so deficient in open spaces, or so neglected in maintenance and care, that people either may be driven in large numbers to other localities or may remain helpless to combat the deterioration.

(10) The areas in each city which are in need of rehabilitation and redevelopment, and the aggregate of all such areas in cities throughout the country, are so large that a long-continued constructive program, large enough to outstrip and reverse the spread of degeneration, will represent operations of very substantial proportions in the total Nation-wide volume of building.

A Beginning Can Be Made Now.

(11) Some of the steps necessary *to get started* on a redevelopment program can be taken immediately, if there is a planning agency. However, before becoming too deeply involved in a program, before assuming that existing machinery will be adequate, and before imposing extensive obligations upon officials who may be unable or unwilling to work together harmoniously and efficiently, it is wise to review the interrelated procedures that are mentioned specifically in this handbook.

(12) Successful execution of a working program will be facilitated if the appropriate municipal agencies are so rearranged or reoriented, in relation to one another, and in relation to the work they are to do, that a maximum of cooperation and efficiency will result.

PART II

BASIC PREMISES IN REHABILITATION AND REDEVELOPMENT

Community's Right and Duty to Plan Itself.

(13) One basic premise must be recognized. It is that, in any case, the community should have the power, as it has the obligation in the public interest, to plan itself, to direct its own expansion, to redesign parts of its area, and to supervise the rehabilitation and redevelopment of its blighted and slum areas in such fashion as to produce results which will be themselves desirable and will be properly related in function to the rest of the community.

(14) In the actual reconstruction, the city must do more than carry out mechanically its legally specified duties. *It is not a disinterested bystander. It is an active partner* in a going concern, the fortunes of which vitally affect the city as a whole. Unless the city is willing to assume an attitude of this kind, the chances of any real recovery from civic blight are negligible. *The really fundamental reconstruction effort must have its roots and its growth in the local community.*

Some Guiding Principles for Effective Procedure.

(15) *The plan for rehabilitation or redevelopment must be recognized officially by the community as a vital part of the whole city plan.* In other words, the community must place a special obligation upon its public officials, including the planning agency, to think through the problem. They will have to decide whether or not the kind of rehabilitation or redevelopment proposed for a particular place will be good, not only for the revamped area and the people who have interests there, but also for the city as a whole and for the taxpayers and inhabitants of that city.

(16) Both the direct and indirect social benefits and the direct and indirect economic benefits must be appraised and constantly kept in mind.

(17) The reconstruction of an area should be so related to the whole city that the needs of the occupants of the area are met reasonably, either on the site or in easily accessible locations, such needs being for work and earning, home living, buying, play and recreation, and education and religion.

(18) On the other hand, the site should be susceptible to such redevelopment as will furnish to the city something which the city needs and will use. These things will include a supply of housing of a kind and cost needed by the community and in a location from which the inhabitants will be able to get to work conveniently. A stabilized purchasing power for goods and services convenient to established or proposed shopping centers is another need. There must be a more complete and stabilized use of existing facilities, with the taxpaying power to support them. The rehabilitated or redeveloped area may have, in addition, a great negative usefulness in supplanting or precluding some undesirable use of the same space.

(19) If a specific program is to be formulated by a community, and is expected to be effective: (a) it will have to be a large-scale program; (b) it will require a substantial period of time to execute; (c) it cannot as a whole be so extravagant that when it is finished the buildings will involve prices or rentals beyond the means of those who are intended to occupy them; and, therefore, (d) it cannot be restricted to providing rental housing for low-income families which cannot support the urban facilities of the areas exclusively occupied by such housing; (e) it probably must include substantial quantities of housing for families of wide ranges of income, *and substantial quantities of self-supporting commercial and other non-residential uses.*

(20) This last qualification is valid for a general program, but under such a program *some one project* may be especially designed to supply a predominance of structures of only one or two of the kinds of land use just outlined. A given area or neighborhood must be developed so as to compete in attractiveness, services, and cost, for both business and residential uses with developments which outlying suburbs provide.

(21) *Above all, any constructive program must be of such a nature that it does not produce conditions which cumulatively will defeat the program objectives; that is, it must not recreate conditions similar to those it is intended to eradicate. And, however desirable the newly proposed pattern of change may seem to be now when it is made, the very system by which the changes are to be adapted must be available for further changes when these become necessary. In other words, the need is to devise a continuously reapplicable technique of change.*

(22) The following four budgets, among others, must be set up in relation to the project: (a) that of the city, expending for services and receiving from taxes or their equivalent; (b) that of those private parties financially interested in the project, who have con-

tributed money or money's worth and who expect to receive interest and ultimate return of their investment; (c) that of those who are to live in the project and pay rent and expect to receive in return decent and complete living facilities; (d) that of the constructing organization, or of several such, receiving money and producing the completed project at a reasonable profit. Each of these four interlocked budgets must not only take into account all the financial obligations and adjustments that are involved but must also give due weight to benefits that cannot be measured precisely in dollars.

(23) Not the least of the premises, upon which an adequate program to deal with blighted areas must be based, is that there must be the power to assemble land. To make certain that all needed parcels of land may be acquired, the power of eminent domain (i. e., the public power to condemn and take over private property) must be available. This subject is discussed at length in Part VII. See also paragraph 2.

PART III

IMPLEMENTS NEEDED FOR A PROGRAM

Preliminary Steps.

(24) Municipal organizations and powers vary. But in any case *much of the constructive thinking* can be done even before needed additional powers and instrumentalities are made available, if local public officials and private interests have a concerted will to act cooperatively and constructively.

Powers and Agencies Required.

(25) The agencies and powers which will be needed to implement an effective program include some which probably are available now and some which will be new. The principal implements or tools, the uses of which are explained in this handbook, will include the following:

- (26) (a) Legislation to create a "*planning agency*" (if none exists now, or if one exists but has inadequate powers) which will be required to prepare a master plan for the city and to include therein, among other things, a master plan of land uses and controls, a tentative city-wide indication of municipal revenues potentially obtainable from real estate that will be related logically to the proposed land use pattern, and a designation of the extent and types of blighted and slum areas which are ripe for rehabilitation or development. See Parts IV and V.
- (27) The master plan is an indication of the desirable general relationships among the different principal elements of the community's layout, and usually the term is applied to each plan which shows the general distribution and extent of development of any one major element. If the reader will study Parts IV and V, he will have a better idea of the significance of the term and of the flexibility of such a plan than it is possible to give in a simple "definition."
- (28) (b) Legislation to establish a corporate arm of the municipal government—a "*City Realty Corporation*"—to which the city will entrust the acquisition of sites for redevelopment and for other municipal purposes. See Part VI.

- (29) (c) Legislation empowering the city through its city realty corporation to take full and clear title (and without unnecessary delay) to *tax-delinquent and tax-abandoned properties*. (In some States this may not be possible and the nearest equivalent power must be sought until a constitutional change makes possible the fuller power.) See Part VII.
- (30) (d) Legislation to vest the *power of condemnation* of property, under proper safeguards, for various purposes including *the purpose of replanning and redeveloping* the city, as one of the functions of a city realty corporation such as is indicated in item b, above. See Part VII.
- (31) (e) Legislation authorizing the organization of urban redevelopment corporations, through the operation of which *private capital* may be invested to design, build, and manage the redevelopment projects which progressively are to take the place of parts of blighted areas so that these areas by the above and other means will be completely and constructively dealt with. See Part VIII.
- (32) The complexities of the interrelated problems which must be handled in a redevelopment program make it impossible to deal with them solely through one all-powerful and entirely unhampered single agency. Therefore, such legislative acts as may be necessary, such agencies as are to assume specific responsibilities, and the procedures of the necessary agencies, all must be integrated one with another. It is not recommended that one omnibus legislative bill be drafted to provide for all of the procedures and all of the agencies required for a redevelopment program. This is because there are continuing duties to be performed by the planning agency, and by the city realty corporation, over and beyond what those agencies may do in collaboration with a redevelopment corporation in a program of redesigning and rebuilding a portion of the city. Both agencies are important even if a city should be so new and so well planned and operated as to have no blighted areas or slums to get rid of.
- (33) It is pertinent to note here that the New York Legislature enacted an urban redevelopment corporations bill which the Governor signed on May 1, 1944. It provides, among other things, for exercise of the power of condemnation by such corporations. The Illinois and Michigan Legislatures produced somewhat similar bills which were passed; and in Utah another failed of passage. The Massachusetts Legislature voted to appoint a committee to study the question and to report to the next session. The 1941 Missouri Legislature adopted resolutions requiring a referendum vote of the people

in the general election of 1942 involving some of these same matters. Where such beginnings have been made, the development of a practical experimentation should be watched carefully with particular concern as to whether there has been adequate legislative insistence upon the preparation, adoption, and control of a master plan of the city.

(34) We have political subdivisions, with separate and autonomous taxing powers, which overlie and break up the large regional areas we desire to plan—areas, for example, over which urban population and property developments are widely and unevenly spread. Therefore, there might very well be a review of the whole field by competent fiscal and legal experts who are familiar with the local conditions, to ascertain whether there may be devised further powers which when applied intelligently will produce a better administrative and financial adjustment among the areas and units which must be dealt with. *Probably there are* other powers and procedures which the community must utilize if it is to handle constructively all of the difficult problems it faces. This handbook does not include a separate inquiry along these lines. See Part IV, under “The Total Area to be Planned.”

PART IV

PREPARATION FOR PLANNING

Machinery of Municipal Government.

(35) No one who is familiar with the complicated governmental machinery which has evolved, in patchwork fashion, within modern American cities will fail to recognize inherent operating difficulties. Some of the machinery is obsolete; some of it is poorly adapted to the functions which it is intended to serve. There is a lack of facility to execute some of the functions which are now recognized to be highly necessary.

(36) Most of the inadequacy is the inevitable result of continual partial alteration, and the result of a more rapid increase in public responsibilities. When a municipal government organization has been overhauled, maladjustments may persist, or new ones may have been created by oversight or accident. Even if a completely new city were developed there would be need to guard against recurrence of the problems that have appeared in existing cities.

(37) In old governmental organizations, as well as in "modernized" ones, the machinery seems to be fairly adequate with respect to the care and maintenance of the physical plant, and in departmental services of routine character. On the other hand, even in modernized organizations, the machinery of government appears to be less well adapted to its purpose in those parts concerned with designing and building and rebuilding—whether these operations are those of private interests or of public interest, or both.

(38) This sort of maladjustment needs corrective treatment, not alone because of its clumsiness but also because of the importance and value of the interests that are at stake. Where designing and building and rebuilding are involved, the resulting changes involve conflicts of interest—vested interests in land and buildings, vested interests in the exercise of official duties and powers. It is rare to find satisfactory machinery and personnel for adjusting varied conflicts of interest among municipal departments, between rival city and county governments, between private property owners and local governmental organizations which must represent all the citizens.

The Planning Agency.

(39) In this handbook it is not necessary to outline in detail all the legal functions of planning agencies, or to describe the procedures

followed by those agencies which are firmly established, are experienced, and are competent. Therefore, for convenience, it will be assumed that the city has or will have an official planning agency, given responsibility, and with adequate staff and appropriations. If there is no such organized body which has planning as its major duty, and which knows how to select and secure the essential facts (and only those facts which are essential; facts which when analyzed will be the basis of the planning that is to be done), then it is inevitable that the city will either do nothing except on the basis of guesses, or it will try to carry out a study and planning program through agencies and persons not organized for, not trained for, and not adapted to such a task.

(40) The planning agency is an essential one in any case. It is indispensable regardless of the particular and specialized problems of rehabilitation and redevelopment. It must deal with new land subdivision, resubdivision of old lay-outs, in some cities with zoning, and with many other questions. See paragraph 26.

(41) It is not reasonable to expect that departmental officials of the city or the county, or such an agency as the board of education (if that be a separate body), will be able to attend to their normal responsibilities and, in addition and merely as a side issue, undertake singly or cooperatively to carry on a planning job of major importance and city-wide significance.

Coordination Among Agencies.

(42) In some localities there will be both a city planning agency and a county planning agency. There may be separate bodies whose functions include the selection of locations for schools inside or outside the city, or both. In addition, there will be certain agencies with special functions to perform in connection with the program treated in this handbook: municipal fiscal officers, a city realty corporation, redevelopment corporations. There will be executive departments of public works and other departments and bureaus. Their activities will be successful, in a larger sense, in proportion to the degree to which they have conformed to broad planning principles applied to the whole urban community.

(43) Successfully rehabilitating, redesigning, and redeveloping the city will entail patient coordination of the work of all those agencies which have to deal with different phases of a program. But coordination is not an end in itself. *Even if coordination were perfectly done, it could not be effective if the planning were not well done. Administrators must not overlook this requirement.*

Broad Point of View in Preparing for Planning.

(44) The planning agency, even if for the time being it is only an advisory agency, *cannot afford to be irresponsible*. It has a fundamental obligation to fulfill. That obligation is inherent in the creation of the agency itself, coming as it has out of a realization that too often commitments were made, projects undertaken, and huge sums expended, without consideration of broad relationships.

(45) If the planning agency does not have a fairly clear idea of the planning it is to undertake, and of how to go about it, then it will be uncertain how to prepare for that planning. There will be confusion of purpose and inefficiency in procedure in the preparatory work of securing and plotting usefully the information upon the study of which the planning is to depend. Distinctions must be made between consideration of broad relationships, which is the function of the planning agency, and the more detailed and precise aspects of work done by others in carrying forward the broad concepts established by the planning agency.

(46) Some planning agencies fail to meet this obligation because they devote too much valuable time and energy to detailed planning, to examination of details not requiring to be studied as a basis for deciding questions of broad relationship. For example, the staff of the planning agency, if it happens to have the requisite skills, on occasion might undertake to prepare a detailed design, if other municipal agencies are not equipped to do this, or if they request the planning agency to assume the obligation. (There have been instances where only this extra activity by a planning agency made it possible for the community to be prepared properly for an urgent construction program.) Nevertheless, such procedure should not be encouraged. There is a very real danger that the doing of such a detailed designing job, and perhaps the satisfaction resulting from having prepared a good detailed plan, will make the planning agency forgetful of, *or complacent about its neglect of*, its main obligation to prepare broad master plans.

(47) *The planning Agency's work should be the beginning of a straight line process, continued without a break in the thinking, by those responsible for more detailed development of plans, for production of working drawings and specifications, and for actual execution of projects.*

(48) Often, and most unfortunately, a gap has existed between the planning agency and the city engineer, or the equivalent person or

agency dealing with detailed planning. Mutual jealousies are not necessarily the cause of such a gap, but it probably will require patient cooperation to bring the agencies together into line. The root of the difficulty lies in the fact that each agency has different duties, and different ways of thinking arising out of those duties. One deals with the broad and general, and should think accordingly. The other deals with the particular and does so in specific detail, and is compelled to think in that fashion.

(49) *Too often, the multitude of routine obligations of the city engineer make it difficult for him to contribute to the planning agency what it should receive from him, i. e., his concept of the larger aspects of planning problems with which the planning agency is required to deal.*

Long-Term Practicality Versus Opportunism.

(50) A great many difficulties, otherwise inescapable, can be avoided by taking forethought in a broad way, by examining the city area as a whole, and by acquiring an understanding of broad, city-wide patterns such as are discussed in this chapter. To acquire such an understanding is to be practical in a long-term sense, in contrast with effort to be immediately practical in an opportunistic sense regardless of later penalties that result from hurried and short-sighted action. *Taking the long-term and the broad view will not involve a waste of energy, time, or money. It will be a first step in a series of time-saving, economical and appropriate procedures of simplification.*

Adaptation to Administrative Needs.

(51) It should not be inferred that years are to be devoted to Utopian and probably futile research, without regard to the practical, and often unpredictable, administrative needs of the municipal government. On the contrary, it is the part of wisdom for the planning agency to acquire and record its information in relation to the specific purposes for which it is to be secured and used, and in relation to the probabilities of demand for its use.

(52) The suggestions of this handbook should be considered as a clue to the planning agency's own careful examination of its own problem of choosing and scheduling the fact-finding and plotting processes. If all the items are set down under one or another of the following headings, subject of course to later change, all reasonable precautions will have been taken to meet unpredictable administrative needs.

(a) Information which should be maintained, on hand, ready to use.

(b) Information which should be on hand in unassembled form, but ready to assemble when, and in such form as it may be needed.

(c) Information that need not be obtained until it is needed.

Meeting a Deadline.

(53) When the planning agency is given a mandate to produce its recommendations upon a specific problem by a specified time, and is given the appropriation and facilities with which to work, it is unwise to fail to meet that deadline constructively. The planning agency must state in the beginning whether its findings, at the time they are expected to be submitted, are likely to be conclusive, or whether only preliminary and tentative (and possibly inadequate) recommendations can be evolved within the allotted time. Such issues must be faced realistically, not solely as interruptions of some seemingly more important program of study already under way or about to be started, but as opportunities for the planning agency to win the respect and confidence of those other municipal authorities with which it has to deal. To produce reasonably and promptly on demand is to create good will.

(54) A case in point would be when the planning agency was requested to make some kind of housing survey or real property inventory, or to define (within too short a time) areas in the city where blighted or shum characteristics prevail. Getting and interpreting such information might primarily be: (a) to convince others of the seriousness or significance of conditions that might require remedy; (b) to emphasize the fact that remedial measures may be more difficult to apply than first appears, and that additional study is required.

The Total Area To Be Planned.

(55 a) This handbook's discussion relates particularly to large cities. The program in smaller cities will be the same in principle but simpler in detail; and probably it will allow more dependence on field inspections.

(55-b) Almost every city has, outside its political boundaries, residential or commercial or manufacturing areas, large or small, which are economically a part of the central community, sharing its fortunes and needing to cooperate in its policies. The larger area, containing both the city proper and these outlying activities, must, therefore, for its best effectiveness, be planned as a unit. The municipal planning agency will recognize the fact that its study of the city area can be adequate only if it includes the larger metropolitan district of which it is a part. If there is an official regional or county planning agency, willing and able to undertake a cooperative study

with the city planning agency, then the larger area could be more adequately studied.

(56) A city agency alone, partly because of legal limitations, partly because of difficulties in securing and spending city funds to study conditions beyond the city limits, may be severely handicapped at the present time. If it is impossible soon to eliminate such handicaps, the city planning agency must do the best it can to consider, in a broad way, the general aspects of the outer region and particularly those planning factors which have their effects both inside and outside the city boundaries. Simple examples which reveal the need to integrate city and regional developments are: a regional highway system, to which the city's major highways must be attached both physically and functionally; sewer and drainage systems based on drainage basins (watersheds) lying athwart the boundary lines which separate the areas of different political units; large parks or reservations serving the city and county but lying beyond or at the boundary line of the central city.

(57) Because of the politically subdivided character of the "area to be planned," and the separate taxing jurisdictions, other problems of tremendous importance must be faced and reasonable solutions of them must be found. An illustration is seen in the relationship of receipts and expenditures in two political units, one having low-income housing from which it receives low taxes and for which it has high expenditures for schools and other public services, the other unit having the factory where those same low-income families are employed but receiving higher taxes from the factory and having to make less outlays for public services for the factory.

Present Patterns of the City.

(58) These patterns can be represented for the whole city only in a partial and diagrammatic way. For instance, the most obvious and commonly understood pattern is the general street map. This map, however, does not reveal the different uses of the streets nor, for instance, the kind or width of pavement, nor whether parking is allowed. It is a general pattern with much detail left out. In like manner, in all the other patterns of the city which the planning agency will plot, certain characteristics and data will be indicated and others will be omitted.

(59) Because this handbook is not a book of rules to be followed blindly, but is valuable chiefly for what it suggests, there are described later in this chapter only those city-wide patterns which it appears most worth while for the planning agency to represent on maps. These patterns actually exist, whether people have recognized them or not, and the plotting of them will be valuable in clarifying the

thinking of the planning agency (and others) with respect to the orderly arrangement, or the disorder of arrangement, of the city.

(60) These existing patterns should be plotted in the sequence of the probable need to use them, insofar as this is possible in view of the availability of the needed data, and the time and cost of securing it. The choice of the order in which the patterns are recorded might be influenced partly by the need or desire to use them as the basis of particular studies. In other words, even before completing the mapping of all the selected patterns, it may be very desirable or even necessary to make studies of possible rearrangements of patterns. Other circumstances than the work of preparing for any specific type of planning may arise, and special studies may be required for which some one or another of the map patterns would be useful. In such a case the sequence of patterns would be modified.

Information: Recording in Useful Forms.

(61) It should be borne in mind that each city department has, or should have, the data necessary for its own function. Also various civic and welfare agencies have secured and compiled data they thought necessary to their activities. More and more such agencies as the United States Bureau of the Census are securing data that heretofore could be had only by making original surveys locally. *It is important that the planning agency be familiar with what survey information exists in usable form before initiating any original surveys of its own.* The planning agency needs general information, some to be used as secured from other agencies, some to be compiled at reduced scale, and some to be gathered anew. The planning agency often uses data which were obtained and compiled by other agencies primarily for their purposes. In some instances of this sort, the original records may be recompiled, or converted and replotted. Sometimes, however, nothing is possible but to gather the facts anew from the beginning.

(62) Occasionally, information recorded or plotted according to one selected type of area (Census tracts, for example) is broken up by subtractions and additions so that it may be replotted within other types of area (school service areas, or areas of single-family dwellings, for example). This process of conversion and replotting is uncertain at best, and the results may be difficult to deal with. For the first broad studies, at least, it is not likely to be necessary.

(63) The facts needed in planning should be available in such form that they can be interpreted and compared easily. The contemplated use in planning should be known before the facts are gathered, for this use determines the amount and detail of the needed facts, and the manner in which they should be recorded. For in-

stance, if certain information is already at hand compiled by Census tracts, then comparable information should refer to the same tracts. If general conclusions only are to be drawn, and an inspection will reveal the facts block by block, then a map recording the data for each house or lot is presumably both wasteful and confusing. For purposes of general planning, and even for purposes of general study of zoning, it will be helpful to the planning agency if it uses larger areas than the lot and block, in which to record information. The areas to show land uses, for example, may be so selected that within each such area the land uses are the same or predominantly of one kind, and the area boundaries will be laid out so that this will be the result.

(64) An exception, with respect to mapping in great detail, would be the preparation of a record map of the use of each and all parcels of land in the city. This is sometimes a necessary legal record for purposes of administration of a zoning ordinance, since it allows among other things each particular non-conforming use to be so recorded.

(65) Laymen who are members of the planning agency should remember that, in city-wide maps on one sheet, the extent of the area is large but the "scale" of the map may be small and less detail is revealed than on a map drawn to larger scale (and requiring a number of sheets to show the whole area). If conditions in the city are to be visualized as a whole, general data will be used and should be plotted on one city-wide map.

(66) Beautifully drawn and rendered "exhibition" maps, in colors or graded monotone washes, attract attention and commendation, and sometimes are justified. But the cost of producing them should be weighed against the cost of meeting other, and perhaps greater needs.

(67) Not all data refer to physical characteristics, or are capable of being recorded on maps. Social data sometimes can be plotted directly; sometimes this sort of information can be revealed best by plotting the physical things that represent social conditions. (See discussion, "Health and Welfare Information," later in this chapter.) Land values, traffic accidents, cases of disease, can be plotted. But when different objects and demands are compiled and compared in terms of dollars—such as general data as to values, total figures for a district or a city, and many financial and economic facts—then tables or graphs are usually used to show the information.

(68) Figures scattered throughout tables in a shelf-full of reports or in a dozen different file drawers may be of no practical use, but when brought together in a loose-leaf book (and kept up to date if they are of a recurring character) may be constantly used to great

advantage. The Federal Housing Administration's Division of Research and Statistics, on request, might give helpful suggestions.

(69) A still more complex form of presentation is necessary when the problem is to reveal the financial expectations and obligations of the city, and their relation to each other, both in amount and in time. Whether that more complicated form is called a "long-term budget" or by any other name, the necessary facts themselves must be acquired so that they can be presented accurately and in simple form, and so that the different sets of facts may be compared easily one with another.

(70) Great care should be taken that the facts are indeed facts, whether pleasant or unpleasant, and not obtained consciously or unconsciously with the desire *to prove something*. Questions in a questionnaire, for instance, may easily be so framed as to produce a desired answer, irrespective of the truth. Again, the facts which are secured and plotted may be facts, but often the plotting or recording of them offers opportunity for conscious or unconscious misinterpretation. The planning agency has a peculiar obligation to avoid such errors in its own work and in using, or commenting upon, the work produced by others.

The Base Maps.

(71) It is important to have a number of maps, called base maps, so that upon separate but identical sheets different kinds of information can be plotted and compared. Mention has been made that there is no need for lot-by-lot, or block-by-block, recording of information, in most instances. The street pattern will form the basis of the *principally used base map*, of the several that may be found useful for different purposes. Probably, printed names of streets will be omitted, to simplify the map. But the map may be made easier to use without confusion by showing various large areas not intersected by streets, such as bodies of water, railroad rights-of-way, park reservations, the grounds of public institutions, etc.

(72) Maps drawn or printed on paper (and therefore opaque) can be compared only by looking from one to the other. Sometimes this is enough. Inability to make exact and nonphotographic reproductions at the same size and scale, simple and inexpensively, encourages the use of such maps chiefly (if at all) for those city-wide patterns which the planning agency needs only for drafting room and office study. On the other hand, transparent tracing linen maps can be superposed one over another or over opaque maps. More than two together will hardly be readable. Linen maps lend themselves easily and cheaply to reproduction on other tracing linen sheets by various modern processes, and this allows preservation and use of a simple

map while a reproduction has additions made to it, and in turn is reproduced again on other tracing linen sheets. These mechanical processes are generally known, but their convenience is forgotten surprisingly often.

(73) Another consideration is that when a range of five or six grades (or densities) of cross hatching, or tones of wash or crayon, or series of colors, is needed to represent different conditions in different areas, the need to have the final map patterns readable may call for further simplification of base map data. Such simplification might be, for example, the printing of the street pattern in less heavy lines than are to be used to show recorded information, or lines of another color, or perhaps obliteration of all minor streets so as to show only the easily distinguishable and recognized principal thoroughfares.

(74) Reference or "work-sheet maps" (at any convenient scale) may be used to print statistical data in exact figures, area by area, especially when such figures are averaged (or are translated into persons per acre or dollars per square foot) for the purpose of plotting information by grades or ranges of density or value. See discussions later in this chapter, on "Population" and "Assessed Valuations."

(75) Finally, the main objective is to choose base maps suitable to the kind of plotting required, and assuring clear readability, alone and when compared one with another. A topographic contour map, for example, is itself a base map; but for certain comparisons it requires the addition of the street pattern, or major thoroughfare network, so that specific ground conditions can be seen in relation to a recognizable location, or vice versa.

Existing Patterns, in Desirable Sequence.

(76) Careless choice of the order in which pattern maps are to be made probably will make for trouble later. In paragraph 60 this question is shown to be a matter of careful judgment. The order in which different maps are mentioned here is a desirable one to follow in actual practice. It is a helpful one to use here for purposes of explanation.

The Street Plan.

(77) This plan is almost certain to exist. (See par. 58.) In some cities, however, municipal neglect is responsible for lack of a single, city-wide plotting of the street system with uniform accuracy. Discrepancies arise which make the information untrustworthy, but it may serve for general diagrammatic purposes so long as it is recognized as inaccurate. One of the most time-saving and money saving

instruments which a city can have is a complete street map based on engineering traverses, closed and monumented.

(78) The planning agency should designate on this map the principal, generally used thoroughfares, differentiating where they pass through the general street system and where they pass through parks or parkways, and differentiating between those which are generally radial with respect to the central business district or very important secondary business centers and those which are circumferential or generally "cross-town" or "loop detour" in character. Further distinctive indications should show the streets, or any private rights-of way, upon which are located fixed car tracks or elevated electric lines used for mass passenger transportation. (See discussion of "Mass Transportation," later.)

(79) If no study of the different functions of streets has been made previously, distinction must be made now between the vast majority of merely "access streets" (chiefly giving access to abutting properties) and "thoroughfares." A good rule is to apply the latter term to any main traveled route, in which the predominant number of vehicles does not stop for access to abutting properties but uses the street primarily to travel between relatively distant points of origin and destination. If there should be a presently used thoroughfare route of this kind through a business district, it should be so recorded on this map.

(80) It should be remembered (a) that the present existence of traffic congestion or of a great many vehicles, on any one street, *does not of itself, indicate that that street is a thoroughfare*; and (b) that, if previous studies have been made or plans adopted of a major thoroughfare plan (representing something desired for the future), such studies or plan may or may not conform to the present pattern map of existing conditions.

The Sewer System: Serviced and Unserviced Areas.

(81) The sewer system will be thought of mostly in connection with the street system, because usually sewers are laid in the beds of streets. Since sewage flows down hill, normally in a pattern similar to rivers with their tributary branches, the street pattern often has to conform to the sewer pattern. Of the two alternatives of selection of sewer data and their plotting, the more obvious one of indicating the streets in which sewers lie presents two disadvantages: (a) on a city wide map the significance of the lines which indicate the pipe pattern is very difficult to appraise; and (b) nothing is revealed thereby as to the actual areas within which sewer service is or is not available or adequate.

(82) *This map, therefore, should be so plotted as to show the sewer and unsewered areas, together with some appropriate indication (ascertainable from the topographic map or, if there is none, then from data in the sewer department) of the ridges of the watersheds (sewer sheds). This may be particularly important when the areas of a number of political jurisdictions are involved. It will show at a glance that the problem of rendering sewer service to parts of areas not now served is now the responsibility of different municipal units, or involves not minor sewerage extension alone but new trunk lines.*

Water Distribution: Served and Unserved Areas.

(83) The pattern of the water supply system is a true network, because the pipes are interconnected, so that each main pipe is supplied from several directions, for greater volume, pressure and surety of supply. Since the water is under pressure, the pipes can follow the streets, uphill and down, and so the street pattern usually has set the water distribution pattern. Just as for sewer, the outline of the serviced areas is more easily read, and of more use to the general planner, than merely the pattern of the pipes.

Topography.

(84) A contour map of the topography of the whole city can hardly be dispensed with in any locality. Such a map is necessary for general studies which the planning agency needs to make, such as those having to do with streets, with the adjustment of streets and buildable property (private or public) to each other, with surface drainage and sewerage, and with the effective use of land (including the placement and arrangement of buildings on the land). The same master engineering survey traverses for both location and elevation should apply to topography, streets, sewer, water distribution, and indeed to all municipal engineering information.

(85) Aerial survey maps are very valuable supplements to the engineering topographic survey maps. They reveal many physical characteristics better than any ordinary map can show them. Certain things like groves of trees and the form and character of parks become more real and understandable as shown on such maps. If an aerial map is complete for the area to be planned it will have an especially great usefulness, as a short cut to tedious preparation of maps of ordinary type, if an unusual emergency demanding speedy plotting of information should arise.

The Zoning Pattern.

Every official zoning ordinance and map, that map of future land use, to which officials and

citizens are more or less accustomed. The proposed permissible building height and bulk, and property uses, may differ widely from what is actually on the ground. See paragraphs 87, 61, 217, and 315-316, in that order. This item is placed *before* "Land uses" because the latter subject is discussed at length. Actually, zoning cannot be devised until *after* land uses are studied.

Land Uses.

(86 b) For the general purposes of the studies that are to be made, land uses should be recorded in broad general patterns of uses. Uses will be grouped into a number of easily recognizable categories. Later, when more intensive study is to be given to particular localities, more detailed information will be plotted. A work sheet, or reference map, should be plotted first and should show the predominant category of land use in each city block.

(87) If an old "existing land-use map" exists, prepared as a basis for a zoning ordinance, it is probably out of date and therefore now inapplicable. If the record was a good one, however, something is to be gained if, without more losses of accuracy than are reasonable, the plotting now to be undertaken is done in such a way as to show something of the change that has taken place in the intervening period. Again, there has been considerable variety in land-use classifications accepted in different cities. A local classification used in zoning, if it is good and reasonably close to the categories of land use suggested in this handbook, should be taken into account.

(88) *A finished map then should be made showing the city in a pattern of areas, each of the areas including city blocks all or most of which are predominantly of the same one category of use, as plotted on the work sheet. (See list of uses in next paragraph.)* Certain losses of accuracy are inevitable because of averaging and generalizing from the first stage of grouping the land uses into categories clear through to the plotting of uses by areas. Such inaccuracies can be accepted. They will not invalidate the broad conclusions that are to be drawn from study of this land-use map. (Studies of districts described in Part VIII will require more detailed data, more accurately plotted.)

(89) The categories of land use suggested here must be recognized as having been chosen to reveal the existing characteristics of land and its uses throughout the city. An *existing land-use map* must never be confused with a *zoning map*, because the latter does not reveal the existing land uses sufficiently clearly, but instead shows what uses the community has agreed to permit and where it

permits them. The following categories of land use are suggested for plotting in the manner described in paragraph 88.

1. Waste lands, not otherwise classified.
2. Large public reservations, such as parks and parkways.
3. Large institutional grounds, including golf courses.
4. Cemeteries.
5. Farm land and large privately held woodland.
6. Vacant, potentially marketable, private land, not officially recorded as subdivided.
7. Vacant marketable private land, not used although officially recorded as subdivided.
8. Detached dwellings.
9. Detached and semidetached dwellings (double houses).
10. Dwellings in groups or rows with no families living one above another.
11. Multiple dwellings (flats and apartments), including *all* in which families live one above another.
12. Local neighborhood retail business uses.
13. General "commercial," or business uses, commonly miscellaneous in character, such as exist in the principal and secondary business districts of the city. (See discussion of "Central Business District" in Part V.)
14. Light industrial uses (those commonly so classified in zoning ordinances).
15. Heavy industrial uses (those commonly so classified in zoning ordinances).

(90) In addition to the foregoing, lot sizes as they predominate in the city's subdivisions should be classified in several groups suited to the local situation, and building heights should be classified in several groups. Outlines (differentiated) can then be laid out over the land uses on the map, and will show the areas within which any one "lot size" category predominates, or any one category of "building height" predominates. For example, some such groups as the following:

Lot widths in groups: (a) 25 ft. wide or less; (b) 25 ft. 35 ft. wide; (c) 35 ft.-60 ft. wide; (d) more than 60 ft. wide.

Building heights: (a) 2½ stories or less; (b) 3 stories; (c) 4-5-6 stories; (d) more than 6 stories.

(91) The planning agency must have in mind how it will use these maps later for study purposes (see Part V). It might very well prepare on linen the map presentations showing the "area" characteristics and the "height" characteristics as these group themselves in areas throughout the city. The "use" map could be either an opaque one or be on linen also. Placement of these three maps over each other will be helpful in completing the planning agency's general view of the characteristics of land use and development for the city-wide area.

Population.

(92) A work-sheet map showing Census tract areas will be a useful preliminary. In each tract should be printed the number of persons and the number of families. Using a planimeter, the acreage of each tract should be calculated and marked. (It does no harm to record square footage, if ascertained during calculation.) Since the *gross acreage relationship* is the most practicable one to use, streets will not be calculated and deducted; *but* any considerable portion of a Census tract not occupied by residential population, such as a park, pond, or railroad yard, should be deducted. Final calculation is made of the number of persons per gross acre in each tract, and that ratio is recorded on the work-sheet map for reference.

(93) For purposes of calculating housing needs the population data in terms of families will be used. In many matters involving municipal costs the figures are likely to be on a per capita (per person) basis. Since both figures for persons and for families will have been placed on the reference maps, the planning agency will be able to plot and use either or both, according to the specific need. In this present outline the plotting of families will be needed *later* as indicated in Part V where family incomes are discussed in relation to municipal revenues. United States Census data are more accurate with respect to persons than with respect to families, due to certain arbitrary definitions of "a family."

(94) It is customary to plot population information: (a) as to general distribution, in the form of a "dot map," each dot representing 100 persons or some other agreed-upon dividing number, and (b) as to varied densities, by using a series of gradations of tone, or series of colors if an opaque map is being made—each tone or color representing a previously agreed-upon range of densities of persons per acre.

(95) The making of the dot map involves no difficulties, and serves its purpose if blank areas are left where there is no residential popu-

lation, and if already suggested precautions have been taken to avoid blurring or confusing of the dot pattern by the lines of the base map.

(96) The technique of dealing with population density maps is liable to be developed out of proportion to needs. Distinction must be made in the beginning between what the planning agency (and any cooperative agency) *may actually require for study purposes* and what *might be desirable for purposes of exhibition and explanation*.

(97) Because the time will come, later, when it will be very useful to have density data in terms of city blocks rather than in terms of areas varying from say 40 or 50 acres up to several hundred acres, there will be a temptation to work upon the block basis in the beginning. If such work has already been done, that is another matter, and this discussion is irrelevant. If it has not been done, then it should be remembered that it is wasteful to do such detailed work for the city-wide area (a) if, at the most, the districts selected for special study represent but a small fraction of that entire city area; and (b) if those special districts are not yet fairly clearly identified. Therefore, for the initial purpose of having a density map which allows the planning agency to *actually see some fairly acceptable graphic indication of the densities* (that have been calculated and plotted on the reference sheets), the most reasonable procedure is to proceed on the Census tract basis.

(98) A specific recorded density does not itself disclose all that should be known. Density standards, although useful and necessary, are not dependable in assuring excellence when applied alone. For example, a poor plan which conforms rigidly to a given density standard will produce less acceptable living conditions than may be present in a well-planned project of somewhat higher density.

(99) Population densities in different cities vary one from another. Therefore, the selection of a measuring scale of densities must be determined by local conditions; and the scale must be so arranged, first, that it will provide for reasonable groupings of density and avoid as much distortion or inaccuracy as possible; and second, that the different representations (tones or color) of grades of density are easily distinguishable from each other when seen apart from and when compared with other pattern maps, such as those showing land uses and assessed valuations. Not more than five differentiations of tone or color can be clearly seen on a city-wide map. Therefore, five "ranges" or less must be selected. If the "steps" or breaks between the ranges of density are chosen where actual conditions suggest, i. e.,

between the typical density of one housing type and that of another, the inevitable distortion will be at a minimum. *A measuring scale is not specified here;* and the following is only a theoretical example to illustrate the principle of "ranges" in a measuring scale.

1. 0 to 20 persons per gross acre.
2. 20 to 100 persons per gross acre.
3. 100 to 200 persons per gross acre.
4. 200 to 400 persons per gross acre.
5. Over 400 persons per gross acre.

(100) Finally, the planning agency should follow exactly the same procedure and plot similar dot maps and similar density maps for two prior United States censuses, thus having three in all, 1920, 1930, and 1940. There will be discrepancies because of variation in layout of the Census tracts at those respective times, but these should be adjusted as well as possible. These three maps show trends which, although probably not now adequate to justify prophecy that the same trends will continue in the future, give a desirable understanding of what has been happening.

(101) A special dot map of population of *children of school age* should be prepared. In some cities the public school authorities make an annual census, recording the *place of residence* of children in different age groups regardless of whether they attend public or parochial schools. It will be important to avoid errors that may arise from a recording of children according to the present "school district" to which they may be assigned as a matter of administrative convenience.

Assessed Valuations.

(102) Much of what has been said about preparing population density maps is applicable to the plotting of assessed valuations. It is highly desirable to record the valuations on a "square foot" basis, instead of "front foot" basis, when the time comes to study particular districts in detail. If information on the square foot basis is already available, it can be used in plotting as indicated later.

(103) The work-sheet reference map which is made first will contain, for each Census tract, the property assessor's figures for (a) the value of all the land, (b) the value of all the buildings, and (c) the value of both land and buildings combined. In addition, the figures should be added for each of these three items calculated on the acreage basis. Probably, the most useful material to plot, in graded tones, will be a selected scale of five ranges showing the combined land-and-building

value to each acre. If the information is available, two rough supplementary and comparable maps should be made showing, respectively, the land value per acre and building value per acre.

(104) Trends should be discovered and, for this purpose, it would be well to make similar valuation maps, perhaps for 1920, but certainly for 1930 and 1940. These two latter dates at least will enable the valuations at those times to be compared with population density and other facts as of the same period.

(105) The same caution should be observed as in the case of population scale of ranges of measurement. Here also the scale is peculiarly local, and the four or five ranges that are selected should be given careful consideration.

(106) When assembling data on assessed valuations the planning agency should record *tax exempt properties*. Although this information represents a pattern of special significance in some cities, probably a special map plotting will not be required for the whole city for general study purposes. But the map plotting of current assessed valuations must take tax exempt property values into account.

Schools: Distribution and Service Areas.

(107) Primarily, this map will be used as a basis for determining the relationship of each and all school buildings to the child population of school age, particularly the number of children living within a reasonable walking distance of the particular schools, public or parochial. Therefore, grade school buildings should be differentiated from junior high schools, and senior high schools from both. Since the school is a focal point of use and attraction, the pattern which this map should disclose requires the plotting of the outlines of an area around each grade school (and possibly around each junior high school) which will include all developed or undeveloped land within not more than a 15-minute walk from the school building. These represent school "service areas." When this map and a child population map are superposed one over the other, there is revealed at a glance whether or not the *distribution* of school buildings is now adequate in relation to the families whose children must have school facilities. Note that this map cannot show clearly whether the *capacity* of any school building is adequate for its human burden; but such information will be required by the planning agency later in particular instances.

Recreation: Distribution and Service Areas.

(108) The information to be set down on this map in part is related to the school and school-service map, because of the existence of

school play spaces which may or may not be officially a part of the administratively constituted recreation system. All parks, parkways, playgrounds, water recreation, and other facilities should be plotted. It will be well to limit, at this time, the indication of service areas to designating a 15-minute-walk area around each of those playgrounds that are large enough to accommodate not merely the youngest children but older children as well. See Part V where studies of a recreation system are roughly outlined, and where an indication is given of the commonly accepted "types" of recreation area, differently designed for different purposes. If there already exists a master plan of a proposed complete recreation system, or if there is a reasonable amount of actual development of a system, then the *types* and *terms* already used therein may be adequate to use in presenting this present map of *only the existing conditions*.

Freight Transportation: Railroads, Waterways, Trucking.

(109) This pattern map should show all the principal elements of the several types of freight transportation facilities. With respect to railroads the significant identifications include: main line rights of way; special freight lines, whether in the form of belt lines or otherwise; assembly and classification yards; freight stations, terminals and team track yards; and, of course, existing railroad crossings of streets at grade and grade separations. With respect to waterways the map should show piers, wharves, and other terminal facilities, interchange facilities between rail and water facilities and trucking terminals, etc. Motor trucking company terminals of all kinds should be indicated and, if truck routings are a matter of franchise rights, these routes should be indicated together with interchange points with railroads and with water transportation terminals. All of these plotted indications relate to physical facilities. It may be helpful to supplement the map now being made with a separate plotting of all major "off street" trucking terminals.

(110) The community will need to know, possibly for other purposes which do not immediately concern the redevelopment of retrograde areas, something of the volume and perhaps also the value of products shipped and received, and the relative volume and value of these to through nonstop freight movements. When such information is needed the planning agency will try to secure it from the transportation companies so that there may be revealed in maps and charts the more complete significance of freight transportation to the community.

Airports and Terminals.

(111) These facilities should be indicated on a map which also should reveal (a) the lines of air traffic routings; (b) the lines of

direction of take-off and landing of planes; (c) the direction of the major annual prevailing winds; (d) something of the character of land use and building development surrounding the airfields; (e) any accessory airplane industrial facilities that may be related to the airports and their operation. This phase of transportation will probably be a simple one to indicate on a map. Its plotting will be the planning agency's initial attention to a public facility the growth of which is not predictable but which probably will have a marked influence on the city of the future.

Mass Transportation.

(112) The pattern of existing mass transportation facilities may be divided reasonably into two parts. One part will have been shown, in not entirely adequate fashion, on the map of the street system where streets were designated as occupied by fixed tracks of street cars or by elevated mass transportation lines. This information, plus the routings of subways, the stations of subways and elevated lines, should be plotted on a map from which are omitted all elements that are not related to such transportation facilities or that may confuse this map and make it unreadable. To this should be added interurban lines and passenger railroad lines (and stations) which have commuter service.

(113) All these facilities plotted thus far have certain aspects of long-term fixation of location which are not possessed by the more *flexible other part* of the mass transportation system, namely, *the bus lines*. The two types should be differentiated on this map of the pattern of mass transportation facilities. The routes of bus lines can be dealt with more easily (if there is reason to recommend modification) than is the case with traditional street railway lines having long-term franchises to occupy specific streets. (These have had a large part to play in determining the pattern of distribution of population and land values, and represent a large financial investment in fixed track locations.)

(114) Mass transportation studies involve recording the volumes of travel, in numbers of persons per day and during morning and evening peak hours, in summer and in winter. Such transportation counts are susceptible to misinterpretation, as in the case of ordinary traffic counts. (See discussion of System of Major Thoroughfares in Part V.) It is not suggested that counts be made of volumes of mass transportation travel until many of the tentative studies outlined in Part V are well advanced, and the exact need for counts can be clearly seen.

Private Properties: Tax Delinquent, Abandoned, Foreclosed.

(115) The chaotic and probably unrecorded characteristics of property under this heading present many difficulties. There are errors of administration, inadequacies of classification, and legal obstacles. The latter should be dealt with as indicated in Parts VI and VII. Information in great detail will be desired for some districts, and only general information for other districts. Therefore, it would appear wise to limit the character of this first city-wide map to the recording of the data, by Census tracts, on a work-sheet map such as has already been described, and deciding then how useful would be the plotting of this material in some appropriate graphic form that can be visualized.

(116) The data themselves might comprise some of the following: combined land and building value of all properties currently tax delinquent in relation to the total value of delinquent and nondelinquent properties; the same kind of ratio information relating to tax-abandoned properties; the same information relating to properties foreclosed by the city but not yet fully possessed legally by the city; the same information as to properties, the mortgages upon which have been foreclosed and which properties may or may not be tax delinquent.

(117) It should be kept in mind that the preliminary plottings of these data are not first steps into an inquiry to measure the exact extent and intensity of economic blight. If they were, much more investigation would be necessary in the field of tax laws and procedures current in the locality. Instead, these first rough pattern pictures are to show, for example, where given numbers and areas of property are distributed which are *avowedly* "*financially sick*," and which give clues as to what parcels might more easily be obtained if the public needs them for public or private purposes.

(118) Beyond the foregoing, there will be further map plottings which the planning agency will make, or join in making, when the city realty corporation is ready to initiate its first inquiries. (See Part VI.) Also, by that time there may be a possibility of making a first rough designation of blighted or slum areas concerning which more detailed facts will be needed and will be plotted. (See also Part VIII.)

Private Properties: Physical Condition.

(119) A real property inventory of all the area involved in these pattern maps may have been made. Whether or not it has been kept up to date (which is unlikely) the pattern of different degrees

of physical deterioration and soundness of structure will be found to be useful. Mostly, however, further study of these data, or the acquisition of more or later detailed information, will be a matter for later decision when particular districts are to be studied.

(120) Under this same heading, mention should be made of housing survey data which may include city-wide factual information capable of plotting on this city-wide map.

Health and Welfare Information.

(121) In American cities planners first dealt with questions of physical relationship. Later they came to deal more and more with those questions of human relationships which determine many of the physical characteristics of the city. Looking superficially at this evolution in planning thought and planning recommendations, many people failed to see what lay underneath—the lack of information, inability to get at the facts or to get the money to get the facts, public inertia, etc. But while some of the critics and their followers continued to remain aloof, others came into the field to help direct social inquiries along constructive lines.

(122) Few competent existing planning agencies have ignored, and no new ones should ignore, the underlying concept that cities are human institutions, that communities exist because they pretend to offer or do offer something desired by people who prefer to live in groups, some in large groups and some in small groups, because of companionship, stimulus to endeavor, ability to secure things not obtainable elsewhere, amusement, convenience and facility to manufacture and to trade, and any number of other inducements. The people who live in the city do not exist to make the structures and facilities prosper. On the contrary, *the structures and facilities which make up the physical city exist because they meet human needs and desires.*

(123) It would be a mistake to assume that need for better health, for protection against disease or against any other undesirable condition, can be ignored. The problem here is to distinguish between (a) remedies which are to be attained by administrative assistance and regulation of persons or groups, for example: education, medical care, legal aid, juvenile or probational court activities, protective measures against crime, etc., and (b) remedies which are partially or entirely to be secured by good planning and the physical redevelopment of the land and buildings where people live, work, and enjoy their recreation and cultural opportunities, i. e., the planning and construction of a healthful and attractive physical layout appraised in this handbook. A thorough and physical arrangement and rearrange-

ment of the city is essentially a program of great significance for human welfare.

(124) If the planning agency is not to become confused it must learn to differentiate clearly between (a) what health and welfare information will assuredly be *useful in the actual planning process* directly, (b) what information will be *helpful indirectly* in understanding conditions in a broad and general way so that in the actual planning no significant aspect will be overlooked, and (c) what social information is primarily useful in dramatizing or *emphasizing the need to plan* and the need for a sounder and better physical and social environment. With the increase in number of trained social scientists it should be easy to select competent advisers from that field. Finally, it can be said that any type of information that is important *should at least be put into the planners' minds* even if it cannot be put upon a map or made use of directly in the actual process of planning.

PART V

PLANNING

Introduction.

(125) Although the purpose of this handbook, primarily, is to assist those who desire to deal with the problems of rehabilitating and rebuilding blighted areas, it is necessary to treat the general subject of planning as a procedure which must be utilized to achieve the desired results. The problem of dealing constructively with deteriorated areas is only a part of the larger problem of redesigning and rebuilding the urban community, and doing this rebuilding part by part while the community remains a going concern.

(126) The planning process can range from the broad and general down to planning of great refinement and detail. An attempt is made here to show where the broad and general process which is the function of the planning agency meets and merges into the detailed process carried on by others.

(127) In any city where the city engineer has had delegated to him the broad planning responsibility, adding that duty to his already highly specialized and possibly overcrowded schedule, he will be aware (as many others before him) that he cannot do two things at one and the same time, that he cannot *simultaneously* think in a broad planning way and in a detailed-construction-design fashion. A too busy, or too inattentive or unconcerned, city engineer can thwart the effectiveness of a city plan probably more than any other official. Knowing that he will be concerned with detailed plans in any case, and probably believing that he could do a better job than the planning agency on the broad problem, he should have opportunity to cooperate constructively in the beginning and should not depart from the broad plan in principle afterward.

(128) Because of a lack of public understanding of the essential and valuable service that could be rendered by planning agencies, and the resulting inadequacies of appropriations and personnel, many official planning boards have spent years of arduous effort in producing no more than one mapped phase of the city's master plans; for example, a highway system or a park system. This work should be utilized if it still has value; but it is entirely unlikely that the

local planning agency has itself been able or been permitted to plan and apply any measures to retard or prevent urban deterioration and blight. *This condition is to be remedied in one way only, i. e., assignment of responsibility, coupled with the power and facilities to meet that responsibility.*

(129) The planning agency should have a staff adequate in number and in competence to handle the ordinary day-by-day and frequently repetitive obligations of the organization. The planning agency ordinarily cannot have and cannot afford to have, as permanent paid members of its staff, those persons with experience and expertness to handle practically any problem without delay of any kind. Such persons should be engaged for problems of extreme importance to the city. When employed they should be expected to work closely with the planning agency.

(130) The latter agency should be responsible for providing adequate and correct local information to the outside expert as a basis for the exercise of his particular skill. It should make certain that the expert thoroughly understands the circumstances, and the decisions already made by the community, before he makes specific recommendations in his own field. Every effort should be made to avoid producing conclusions irreconcilable with master plans which cannot be adjusted thereto. For example: a mass transportation expert's recommendation which runs counter to the local concept of feasible and desirable development of the central business district; or a playground report which ignores the proposed distribution of schools or the proposed development of park areas or the proposed pattern of residential land uses.

Defining the Problem Before Solving It.

(131) Much controversy upon the merits of plans arises out of failure in the beginning to agree exactly what the problem is which is to be solved. It would be well to consider such questions in conference with those who will be called upon to develop detailed plans later. *This is a primary obligation of both the planning agency and these other officials, and failure to secure substantial agreement may be a very serious matter, later if not in the beginning.* If the planning agency tries and fails to secure collaboration and agreement, it must proceed with its own resources and judgment; but the effort it has made will be a helpful prelude to the day when its own plans are challenged. At that time, higher officials, who are unlikely to have a background of technical understanding, may be compelled to judge between alternative and rival plans, and to approve one of them.

(132) *Wise public administrators should take precautions to minimize or eliminate stalemates between rival plans, and to place the*

responsibility for judgment of technical matters in the hands of technically competent and responsible officials. Judgment with respect to broad considerations thus falls upon the planning agency.

The Predictable Future.

(133) It is not without significance that municipal legislative bodies and mayors are always planning for the future in some fashion when they authorize or promote bond issues to pay for improvements that will last many years. Some such bodies have stepped up into modern times by depending a great deal upon the technical competence and judgment of their official planning agency. Other cases could be cited in which, unhappily, the technical competence is absent or is so submerged that it cannot be recognized or be effective.

(134) When an individual or a group advocates a bridge which has a prospective life of 50 to 100 years and is too expensive to be prematurely scrapped, when a regional highway or boulevard or parkway is proposed upon which paving and landscaping will be renewed several times throughout an even longer period, the community is being asked to look a quarter or half century into the future. It should be quick to see the need for the broad planning of all those general characteristics of land use with which the special project inevitably must be related during its prospective years of existence.

(135) When private investors build buildings which are so constructed and of such materials that the healthful physical life of the structure is long, say 50 years or more, and when loans are made which are amortized over a period of 30 to 60 years or more, then it is clear that, although these enterprisers are not calling themselves planners they are looking ahead and "banking on the future," wisely or recklessly as the case may be. To plan the public services for properties as durable and long-lived as these, the planners necessarily must try to look no less far into the future. And they must have in mind initial costs, maintenance costs, replacement costs, and the cost of money borrowed by the community to pay for these public service facilities. Such planning tends to make the prediction come true.

(136) Space is given to this discussion because of its great significance to the community. The future must be prepared for. Piecemeal preparation is inadequate, as the examples just given should indicate. The successful city of the future will be the one which has done the most *thorough* job of anticipating and controlling its development. Isolated proposals must be considered in their inevitable relationships; and another example is pertinent. If the building industry evolves so that mass production of factory-made dwellings, or

parts of dwellings, seems desirable on a large scale, with more or less frequent replacements (as in the case of the automobile industry)—say every few years, and with loans amortized in the same period—then the community will face an old problem in a new guise. It must insist that the land occupied by such dwellings shall not be changed to another use or to a greater or a less intensity of the same use until those public facilities which the community has provided to serve that land can be changed also. Or, in spite of the fact that the municipality earns no profit, it somehow must learn how it can afford to scrap its public facilities and amortize their cost when the change occurs in the character of land use for which the public services are intended. Changes of location or density of occupancy or use make different demands upon the streets, sewers, water supply, transportation, or other costly facilities and services.

Relationship of Public Land to Private Land.

(137) Public land is needed to provide locations for those public services and facilities which the private citizens collectively require as a community. It is the planning agency's obligation, first, to discover a relationship that can be appraised and calculated between the private land and buildings and people, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the land and facilities intended for the services.

(138) There are in existence, and available subject to the difficulties of selecting and assembling them, all the skills in designing and planning and constructing that are required to deal with the physical rearrangements and rebuilding of the entire urban community. But difficulties have been great; obstacles have been in the way. This is evidenced by the fact that private land has retained the characteristic of remaining vacant or of being crowded and overcrowded with buildings and people, while the originally designed streets and utilities become entirely too ample if the private land remains vacant, or entirely inadequate if the private land becomes crowded.

(139) Nothing but guesses (reasonably shrewd at best) can be used in the broad planning or the detailed planning of streets and sewers and parks and transportation, until this basic problem of correctly adjusting public facilities to the developments and people they serve (and vice versa) is dealt with constructively and with sound technological judgment. The planning agency must attend to this matter. Otherwise, the community will be gambling with its collective financial future in the same manner that has brought so many communities to the point of needing drastic redesigning and rebuilding. What is needed is a fair, and technologically sound, method of calculating that balanced adjustment between private and public de-

velopments in specific areas which cannot be violated if the community is to avoid economic dislocations and social conditions which it cannot afford.

Tentative or Interim Studies Are Necessary.

(140) When the planning agency begins to examine and make comparisons among its factual records of existing conditions, it must maintain a clear, unprejudiced view of what these facts actually do reveal. Sketch plans or "studies" which attempt to reconcile or adjust one set of facts to another will suggest themselves, and may be set down as interim records of possible physical rearrangement. They will involve probably a number of rough-sketch patterns of each one thing that is examined. These must remain purely tentative, of course.

(141) Theoretically, such studies could be made (so that suggestions would show on paper) for modification of practically every one of the maps of existing patterns of city-wide conditions described in Part IV. Practically, a number of those patterns should be studied in this manner as a necessary check upon the one basic series of studies which represents *the over-all job of the planning agency, namely, the studies of arrangement and rearrangement of land uses*. For example, studies can be made of a major thoroughfare system, which will depend very largely on what now exists but will need to be restudied again so far as it is not properly adjusted to localities where changes of land use or changes of population density are anticipated. Because of the foregoing conditions, the studies which are here outlined *are listed in a sequence which is adapted to a planning agency's normal concern for physical public services and their planning*.

(142) *Studies relating to land use and population come first as a matter of pure logic, but it is impractical to carry them very far without checking them against the studies of public services with which they are interdependent. If it were practical, all studies would be carried forward simultaneously.*

(143) Laymen frequently inquire which plan the city should make first; for example, the plan for major thoroughfares or a sewer or zoning. There is but one valid answer, although not a complete answer. It is that, if an adequate city plan is to be prepared, any one element can be started first, but it cannot be known to be adequate until other interrelated elements are studied and all are adjusted one to another.

(144) It is impossible to advise, now and clearly, just how far any particular tentative study should be carried before adjusting all the parts of a general city plan to one another. For this reason, several

of the studies are outlined beyond the probable point where the adjustments of one to another should be given consideration.

Preliminary Estimates of Population and Its Distribution.

(145) In each community there will be, in the future, changes in population. There will be more persons or fewer persons. The number of families may change at a different rate than the number of persons. Older people may outnumber children, or the reverse may occur. Expert assistance should be had in estimating population changes.

(146) No one can measure precisely the dynamic quality which a city now has or may develop in the future. Somewhere between the unsupported claims of a pessimist or optimist there are ways to approximate the economic basis of a community as it is now and as it may evolve. Rivalry between cities may affect employment and the growth or subsidence of certain businesses and industries. There are many unknown factors. Nevertheless, a continuing obligation of the community to itself is to establish and maintain the facilities through which at any time there can be appraised and corrected those vitally necessary estimates of the probable amount of employment, the probable number of persons for which there will be employment in productive industry and business and in the service occupations. This will be concerned with the entire "area to be planned," with the region, and with the relationship of these to the national economy. In preparing to design a new city these estimates would come first. In old cities where rehabilitation, redevelopment, and revitalization are contemplated, the estimates are no less important, even though it appears reasonable or convenient to first appraise possibilities of some of the other aspects of the community that is to be altered.

(147) It is one of the objectives of planning to encourage a wise distribution of population, to prevent too dense occupancy and economic concentration, and to create physically buildable properties that will not be economically impotent. Therefore, concurrently with the estimating of population growth in the aggregate, and trends in different localities, there should be prepared a first "measurement standard." This will be a plotting and calculation of the future total population spread at uniform density throughout all the areas that are to be residential. After allowing for all the needed parks, playgrounds, and other public open spaces which are to be studied later, this measurement standard can be refined and stated in terms of the number of "persons per acre" or "families per acre." This

will be very useful when considering where and to what degree, and when, certain densities greater than this should be encouraged and should be offset elsewhere by less densities.

(148) A practical and satisfactory concept of an over all plan for the community must include appropriate distribution of population in relation to different land uses and residential needs, for the entire area to be planned. And, of course, there should be a technologically and financially sound relationship between the distributed population and the public facilities which are to serve that population.

System of Major Thoroughfares.

(149) A major street plan, or a major street and parkway plan, will evolve from (among other things) the study of traffic needs as these are revealed by consideration of different land uses, i. e., examination of the types and intensities of private property development, current and prospective, in areas devoted to industry, to business, and to residences of all kinds from single detached dwellings to multifamily buildings. The studies should be concerned with off street parking, provision of automobile parking terminals in business areas, etc.

(150) *This network of major thoroughfares* should be devised with full recognition of the facts: (a) that although counts of traffic volume may reveal congestion, it is quite possible that some of the counted traffic should not be where it is but should be diverted elsewhere; (b) that now there may be little or no traffic along a prospective route where traffic could be handled to general advantage; (c) that therefore the kind of "traffic count" ordinarily found most significant and useful is that which correlates traffic origins and traffic destinations. Volumes of traffic recorded by traffic engineering surveys, if considered alone, may prompt the acceptance of the presently heaviest-traveled route as the basis for constructing (for example) a grade separation scheme which permanently gives preference to that route. If the effect of the proposed design is studied in a larger way, not only with respect to nearby properties but equally importantly with respect to major localities which secure or are deprived of easier communication, perhaps a change of the original design will appear desirable

(151) Major thoroughfares are for traffic *circulation*, and circulation cannot be achieved unless a system of arteries is created, and tied together to permit fluid movement of motor vehicles. Cities have been compelled to recognize the need of a network of channels to carry streams of traffic; but too often *studies* for improvement are of piecemeal character and complete circulation is lost sight of. At the central business district and at secondary centers there is an accumu-

lation of traffic confusion. Analysis of traffic problems at such districts reveals additional principles of the design of systematized traffic circulation, which are basic considerations from the over-all, city-wide standpoint. These are given later in this chapter at the end of discussion of the central business district.

(152) The network of principal arteries or traffic channels which constitutes this part of the master plan will reveal (if the studies are properly made), at certain existing or proposed intersections, points which must be given some additional special study to determine whether or not there is now, or may be later, a need for a special type of intersection, perhaps a clover leaf or other kind of grade separation. If there is such a need, its physical practicability, its direct cost, and its effect upon abutting private or public properties, and even upon more remote properties, should be investigated and roughly estimated. Perhaps the need is evident but the difficulties are great. Perhaps such a condition would justify relocation or realignment of the highways so as to bring the intersection into another and more favorable relationship as to its adjustments and costs. Because of the vital importance of the intersection (which is really a traffic valve), its study is not merely a matter of detail but of major significance because it determines the character of traffic flow. This much investigation of what some persons might call a detail the planning agency *must* make.

(153) Beyond this point the planning agency will not go. If the study looks good, it may be set aside for later consideration in relation to land-use plans, housing-project plans, and any other essential element that similarly is to be given tentative study.

(154) When general reconciliation of thoroughfare plans has been effected later, the planning agency will be ready to promulgate its broad "master plan of main thoroughfares," with indications of the types of required intersections in particular places, to be the over-all controlling plan. The broad master plan should not be departed from in principle. It is preferable to have had the city engineer's participation in the studies, as his later concurrence will be a matter of really serious concern when the time is ripe to execute some portion of the plan and to make detailed designs thereof. At that time any differences of opinion are sure to appear. Then the city's legislative body will be asked to pass ordinances incorporating the proposed improvement into the general street system, making the new project a part of a city-wide street map.

Access Streets.

(155) This subject will become important, in different degrees, when the planning agency and others are considering the needs and the

planning of "areas" for rehabilitation and redevelopment. In such cases access streets are elements in the site plan. Undoubtedly, there will be difficulties in determining to what degree the local street pattern of an area needs to be accepted as it now is because present public utilities are patterned on it, lie within these streets, and are costly to change. On occasion some extra costs to repattern the underground utility layout so as to create a better pattern of local streets may be the best thing to do in the long-term interest of a neighborhood. But in all cases alternative layouts must be appraised as to their all-around value to the neighborhood or general locality; and alternative costs of construction, maintenance, and operation must be included in the appraisal.

(156) See Part VIII for a more particular treatment of the approach to localized and detailed planning, and for reference to site planning and architectural design. Reference documents that should be informative and helpful have been issued by the Federal Housing Administration: Land Planning Bulletin No. 1, "Successful Subdivisions"; Circular No. 5, "Subdivision Standards"; Technical Bulletin No. 7, "Planning Profitable Neighborhoods"; "Low Rental Housing for Private Investment"; and a reprint from the Insured Mortgage Portfolio, "Better Subdivisions Mean Better Loans."

The Sewer System.

(157) Studies of changes and extensions of the sewer system will be necessary; but they hardly can be more than roughly sketched until more is known about the "demand" for service which is to be met. Municipal officers in charge of this particular public service may have prepared plans for some replacements or some extensions, and they should know at least the physical area of the drainage basins (or sewer sheds) which must be taken care of. It is possible to calculate demand if the area is unsewered or is partially sewerred, *and is fully built up*. On the other hand, *in vacant areas* nothing but guesses are possible concerning the probable demand until the planning agency's studies of future land uses and zoning have indicated the probable distribution and density of population and the types of use (and rates of development) which are anticipated within the areas yet to be sewerred. See paragraphs 146-148. Because of this general situation, it is suggested that the planning agency *later* prepare studies of sewer development as the necessary supplementation of studies for changing the character and extent of land uses of different kinds and the changes of street pattern that may be involved thereby.

(158) Because sewer and water systems are underground facilities, and are not constantly seen and thought of by the public, their lay-

outs and adequacy are mysterious except to a few technical engineers. These systems have grown by accretion, without the scientific excellence of a system which might be designed anew and as a whole. Later, in particular districts, the planning agency and the appropriate technical officials may have to record and plot more or less of the following information: (a) the actual and relative physical capacity of its parts; (b) the status of deterioration; (c) estimates of required time and character of replacements; (d) the cost of replacement according to the same layout; and (e) the cost of a new and adequately designed layout. The municipal investment, together with the facts that the services are in constant operation, raise questions which must be answered in individual cases, whether an extensive rebuilding operation must be supplemented by renewal of the old or construction of a new underground utility system, in the same or a different street pattern. The financial calculations of any extensive private building enterprise must be supplemented by, and to a large extent will be influenced by, the municipality's appraisal and calculations with respect to the utilities which are the municipality's responsibility. See paragraphs 245 and 328.

The Water System.

(159) Comment upon this subject, and the making of studies, is identical with the comment above with respect to the sewer system. See paragraphs 157-158. Studies will be a necessary part of the related studies of possible or probable change of character and extent of land uses.

Recreation: Types: Distribution: Service Areas.

(160) Probably, at the present time the proportion of the city's land assigned to recreational use is too small and is poorly distributed. Open spaces for active and passive recreation are so important *that the planning agency cannot afford to underrate the need*. In cities, children and adults congregate in groups to play or to watch others play; and it is probably necessary that, in addition to such supervision as will "keep the peace" and protect property, some trained and intelligent guidance and leadership will be involved.

(161) This is a function closely allied to and probably desirable to be integrated with the system of public education. However, the local community must provide itself with a system of sites of different kinds, each adapted to an appropriate degree of supervision or play leadership or both. One of the difficulties may be the existence of competitive or overlapping activities conducted by two or more public agencies and additional private agencies. In such a case the physical plant and the maintenance and operation costs are higher regardless of the quality of plant and service.

(162) In urban communities which have not neglected provision for recreation, the normally accepted types of recreation area, separately located and especially designed are: (1) the school play yard; (2) the junior playground where children of both sexes up to 10 or 12 years of age play together; (3) the senior boys' playground and senior girls' playground, where adolescents play, either on separate grounds or in alternately scheduled periods on the same grounds, and where the site should be large enough to permit soft ball games to be played without excluding other activities than those of teams of ball players; (4) the athletic center, where football, baseball, and running track, and perhaps a swimming pool, are provided and are supplemented by either a school gymnasium and playroom or by a recreation building with these facilities; (5) small parks, or breathing spaces, for passive recreation; (6) larger parks or "reservations" often in the outskirts, and perhaps rural or even wild in character; (7) "parkways" and "ribbon park routes" especially adaptable to ravines and hillsides.

(163) Playgrounds and parks both provide recreation, but provide different kinds. The *playgrounds* are essentially small, numerous, closely accessible, supervised, for active recreation of younger people, intensively used, normally related in use and in site to the school system, humanized, useful anyhow, and beautiful if possible under the circumstances. The *parks* are essentially large, relatively few, in some cases far from dense population, as free and unsupervised as possible, for some active recreation but at any rate for contemplation of outdoor beauty, for people of all ages, restful, related to the most attractive landscape, natural in appearance, or anyhow with the beauty of green things growing. Many other kinds of public open spaces are also loosely called parks, but the above more characteristic function of the park must be recognized, designed for, and protected.

(164) Studies should be prepared of a master plan of parks, athletic centers, and playgrounds. The study as a whole should show the proposed distribution of these recreation facilities in relation to the population they are intended to serve, including particularly the school population (but not children exclusively). The city-wide study should indicate the adequacy, i. e., the required minimum size and perhaps a maximum size, for each of these recreation units, according to the type of specific facilities and uses intended to be incorporated in each unit area. The master plan will indicate clearly the accessibility of each recreation area to those persons who are to be served. These three general objectives, *distribution*, *adequacy*, and *accessibility*, will have been assured in the studies by consultation

with those responsible for administration of recreation activity and for supervision of all public use of the recreation sites.

(165) Each type of site should be clearly differentiated so as to avoid at least the more common errors, such as (a) producing too many small sites of inadequate size, in response to public clamor for "lots for very small children," and as a result *multiplying costs of site acquisition, development, maintenance and supervision*, while at the same time (b) producing too few senior playgrounds with *minimum usable area* of two or three acres. Another example is the misuse of needed senior playground areas by introducing therein regulation "twilight league baseball" when such activities should be cared for by sites developed as athletic fields which will draw attendance from larger service areas. It should be kept in mind that the need for public play spaces increases and the cost of providing them grows greater in proportion to the disappearance of open spaces for play on private properties and the increase of land coverage and of land prices.

(166) The planning agency's study for a master plan of recreation facilities should show not only the distribution of different types of recreation spaces, but should also show the service areas for each. Around the senior boys' and girls' playground a measured walking distance not to exceed 15 minutes will designate the area appurtenant to such sites. Where now there are no such playgrounds, and therefore no service area, both should be designated for future achievement. Similarly, and preferably on the same map, there should be clearly indicated the less frequently spotted athletic fields and outdoor swimming pools serving larger service areas which might involve a walk of 30 minutes or more. (Time is the factor rather than distances measured on a map, because sometimes circuitous travel or hill climbing or crossing of traffic streets becomes absolutely necessary.) If a gymnasium or other recreation building is needed, in any location, that will be noted. But, in any case, every effort should be made to integrate the recreation system lay-out with that of the school system.

(167) The planning agency will achieve its ultimate objective if it succeeds in establishing these broad relationships as a controlling pattern to which the program of physical development through the years will conform. Normally, the planning agency will not go beyond this point or give attention to detailed design. This will be the function of landscape architects, architects, engineers, and other designers in the city engineer's office, or offices of another agency such as a recreation commission, or outside practitioners employed on occasion by these city agencies.

(168) If the planning agency's broad determinations of types, distribution and accessibility (also representing, as they must, the needs of the population and the requirements of the recreation administrator) are disregarded by those who develop detailed design, or prepare working drawings and specifications, then the master plan will become distorted, and the contemplated adequacy of public service will be curtailed.

Schools: Distribution: Service Areas.

(169) The system of schools probably has not been so well adjusted physically to the needs of the population as it should be. This is the result in part of shifting population. Only the administrative agency (probably a "board of education") can furnish information as to which buildings are overtaxed and which ones operate without a full quota of pupils; which ones are obsolete and scheduled for rehabilitation, replacement, or abandonment. Again, the need to keep the physical plant in balanced operation often requires that for a time pupils go more than a desirable distance to the school.

(170) The planning agency should work with the school authorities. There should be plotted the physical plant of the system, its buildings, and play spaces. *Every effort should be made to coordinate this system and the recreation system* and, if possible, to make the studies of a master-plan map of the school system so as to avoid duplications and overlappings of facilities and service areas.

(171) In these studies, the planning agency should recognize the school, its buildings and its educational and cultural enterprise, as the natural focus of a neighborhood. *It is important to determine, realistically but not necessarily uniformly, just what a neighborhood is.* It represents a human and social group which can be at least roughly identifiable and therefore can be planned for. See paragraphs 182 and 193. The aggregate capital investment in public and parochial school buildings and grounds (including play spaces) is the largest single item of value among all the groups (or single buildings) for which the community's money is spent. The school plant itself has never quite been able to adjust itself to the shifting requirements of shifting population, but in the future it should be related to a more stabilized population, should be used more nearly full time, and should produce a maximum all-year-round benefit for the large outlay.

Freight Transportation: Railroads, Waterways, Trucking.

(172) The economic characteristics of the community, in the past and in the future, are determining factors as to the present facilities and future need for modification or other development of general trans-

portation facilities. (See discussions of Land Uses and of Population in this chapter.) The planning agency alone will hardly be able to promulgate reasonable proposals for expansion or contraction or relocation of freight carrying facilities without the willing cooperation of the transportation agencies themselves.

(173) Although for general city planning purposes it is highly desirable to give continued attention to this subject, the part of the field wherein the planning agency first can make constructive progress includes primarily (a) identification of improvements needed to secure proper relationship of the city plan to railroad properties of all kinds, including rights-of-way and terminals; (b) similar studies affecting terminals of water-borne freight and the interchanges between water and railroad transportation facilities; and (c) studies as to the distribution and location and accessory developments of motor-trucking terminals. All first studies along these lines will be tentative. Probably the planning agency will escape temporarily if these transportation elements are considered, for the time being, only insofar as they seem each particularly related to a general redevelopment program.

(174) Motor trucking involves adaptation of roadway design to the types of truck used, etc. More particularly it involves consideration of loading and unloading (off street) within the property lines of private properties or of especially designed terminals. Therefore, studies for improved trucking facilities appear more logical if undertaken in conjunction with studies of land uses, of main thoroughfares, and of special areas such as are indicated later herein.

Air Transportation Facilities.

(175) The distribution of airports and terminals of different kinds, together with accessory developments, may be a very significant problem in particular communities. The airport, where it exists, is an important element having reactions, because of the transportation function, with the whole of the master plans. Whether there should be an airport at all, and if so how many and of what kind, are questions of State and national economic relations. The placing of the airport in the community involves the application of city planning principles to specific conditions, in each case, which cannot be discussed here except at a length disproportionate to the rest of this handbook.

Mass Transportation.

(176) This term as now used applies to the carrying of passengers, not of freight, and usually refers to travel by streetcar, elevated, subway, and bus. The wholesale daily carrying of passengers (com-

muters) by railroad is usually discussed, as here, under the heading of railroads. But that group is considered with the regular mass transportation passengers when volume comparisons are made with those carried by private automobiles. At present the number of passengers daily entering and leaving the central urban areas is proportioned variously, in different cities, between those using mass transportation and those using private automobiles.

(177) Many planning agencies have ignored mass transportation in spite of the fact that that is one of the essential parts of the planning job. The planning agency should give thoughtful attention to its broad outlines, as to routes, origin and destinations, and volumes of travel, areas served, and "time zones" of travel. Studies should show existing and proposed facilities in a general way; including streetcar systems, whether on the surface, elevated, or underground; bus lines; (railroad commuting service where appropriate); and of course the terminal facilities in each case. Walking distances and times from "stops" on transportation lines will reveal the *service area* and its population in each case. When such walking time is added to the travel time from the business center or other place of employment, the study map may be marked with the customarily used designation of "time zones."

(178) Realism requires that the planning agency remember that, if questions of mass transportation in its community are controversial, or if they have become what are called "political" questions, nevertheless the planning job is essentially an unbiased and technical one. If the planning agency is to discover the lay out of mass transportation facilities which is best adapted to the daily needs of the people in a somewhat rearranged city, it cannot at this time afford to predicate its studies upon some too distant ideal of transportation.

(179) Account must be taken of the different means at hand; of the *relative inflexibility* of fixed trackage lines (which tends to offset some of their advantages), and of previously granted franchises (i.e., occupancy and operation permits); of the *flexibility* of routes of such carriers as buses which are more easily adapted to change of localities to be served or to varied intensities of rider demand. It will be fair to assume that for a considerable period the community will depend upon both the older and the newer types of mass transportation. The planning agency should ascertain where the different types are most suited to the needs.

(180) It should be clear that the mass transportation studies suggested here should be carried only so far, and in such terms as may be necessary to avoid mistakes in judgment when redevelopment schemes for different localities need to be checked with respect to

adequacy of, or provision of, mass transportation facilities. However, beyond and independently of needs arising out of a rehabilitation and redevelopment program, the planning agency should continue its studies of adaptation of mass transportation to the city-wide area, as a phase of the community's comprehensive master plans.

Land Use Studies.

(181) In the discussion of "Tentative or Interim Studies," it was emphasized that land-use studies are of fundamental importance, that theoretically they "come first" because everything else is related to them (see par. 142), and that when and as they are made there must be continual adjustment and readjustment to other studies that may actually have been started earlier or remain to be made later.

(182) Study should be given to the existing uses throughout the community. It is important to understand what things are needed. For example, the people generally are accustomed to purchase many articles of daily need from neighborhood merchants. This is often recognized in zoning ordinances which list permissible commercial uses for neighborhood business locations in or adjacent to residential areas. There is a definite interdependence between the district shopkeeper and the neighborhood families upon whom he depends for support. The planning agency must gauge whether there is, with respect to any land use, an adequate amount and the proper relative location, both for present and future needs.

(183) A checklist of existing uses (those in a zoning ordinance are suggestive) should be supplemented with other uses not now existing in the community but desirable as a positive and constructive addition. For still more understanding of what there has been in the past, it would be well to consult the "Census of Manufactures" and "Census of Distribution" for the localities concerned. See earlier discussion of estimates of population, and paragraphs 232-238 and 186, for clues in determining the probable need for housing.

(184) The planning agency will continue to keep in mind both land and its uses and the people who are to occupy and use the land and buildings. The *broad pattern* of land uses outlined in Part IV will be the pattern which is to be subjected to alteration. Briefly anticipating the method used to ascertain what those alterations might be, there should be an attempt to discover, within the entire urban community, the places where particular characteristics of land and its uses are identifiable as "areas" of different types. This process of discovery and study of areas will give more understanding of the texture of city development as it now is. Each of the identified areas later will be marked for improvement if necessary and to the degree necessary.

(185) Before thinking of that, attention should be given to the total functioning of the city-wide community to discover what the probable need is for changes or improvement of streets, sewers, water distribution, transportation, or other public services. Following that general examination, somewhat closer examination can be made of the identified areas (here referred to as "study areas") with a view to appraising their characteristics and the possibilities of their redevelopment. Later all tentative studies will need to be reconciled and consolidated.

Study Areas.

(186) A number of the studies previously mentioned have dealt with the location (lines, routes, and networks) of public facilities, and with the areas served by them. A study of the central business district is suggested later and involves an area of some extent and with somewhat mixed and varied conditions. The planning agency will find it extremely helpful to identify and study certain different kinds of area, as suggested in paragraph 183. Seven study area types are listed below. The first five, not always to be found clearly differentiated from one another, are identified solely by certain prevailing characteristics; and they may be studied passively for greater understanding, *and actively in an effort to ascertain whether they are suitable for transformation into a "neighborhood."* See paragraphs 171 and 182, and item 6 in the list given below. Numbers 6 and 7 are identified not only by what they now are but also because they already suggest the possibility of being transformed into appropriate unit-areas, or elements of the completed city plan.

(187) 1. Blighted areas; areas, or parts of larger districts, within which even a brief field examination (reconnaissance survey) reveals the existence of many of the observable symptoms of degeneration which are listed in Part I of this handbook.

(188) 2. Areas generally recognized in the community as having some unity and a localized identity; for instance, areas originally existing as isolated settlements or villages, later absorbed into and overrun by the growing city, which areas are known in the city by old place names, even though boundary limits no longer can be defined. (Cherrydale Section, Homestead, Broadlawn, etc.)

(189) 3. Areas of racial homogeneity; areas or districts (not the same as No. 2) which have kept or attained some easily identifiable special physical characteristics connoting a way of life, as in similarity of lots and buildings. (Such a type of area may be especially significant to the realistic planner when he considers schools and playgrounds.)

- (190) 4. Areas of marked physical boundaries of special "separative" character, such as streams and other bodies of water, precipitous hills, wooded ravines, infrequently crossable rights-of-way of transportation lines or especially isolating or dangerous highways (including parkways, for example).
- (191) 5. Areas which show marked disproportions between needs and the facilities to supply those needs (presumably only after analysis of some of the existing map patterns together with field examination), such as large population without playgrounds or with inadequate schools, or lacking sewerage.
- (192) 6. Areas which are potentially desirable units of the city plan; areas which are noticeably inferior but, nevertheless, do possess a number of desirable characteristics; which areas apparently will lend themselves to further "identification" and improvement so as to create a good "neighborhood," desirable as a unit of the city plan.
- (193) A reasonable concept of a neighborhood, usable in the planning agency's study need not be a complicated or controversial one. The physical focus of a neighborhood is the place which is or can be its center of education, culture and social life, the school with its appurtenant outdoor recreation area. See paragraphs 171 and 182.
- (194) 7. Areas, *chiefly nonresidential*, where the type of land use is predominantly appropriate within the area and in relation to the broad characteristics of the city, where conditions are so little below standard that with proper attention to rehabilitation the result would be an asset to the community.

Central Business District.

(195) It is appropriate to turn now to that special *area* of private and public land and development usually called "the central business district." When studying this district the planning agency may consider whether it is too small, too large, too intensively developed, unbalanced within itself, and many other aspects. Studies must include thorough analysis of the district, within itself and in relation to the rest of the city. Important as this district is, still more important is its relation to the whole city and the metropolitan region of which it is a part.

(196) This area has been the community's market place, within which any and all kinds of activity, at one time or another, were at least permissible. Seldom, if ever, has any use which resisted expulsion been forced out by any legal fiat. Within its not always clear-cut boundaries, it has the greatest group of properties in the

highest assessed valuation class, and the largest group of costly buildings. Nevertheless, when the privately owned ground area in the district is multiplied by the average number of stories in the buildings, the total floor area thus derived will be found to include many uses which could be located elsewhere, without disadvantage to those uses or to the central business district itself (after the latter had readjusted itself to the elimination). The planning agency should reserve judgment on such questions until the facts are known. However, a striking demonstration of the fact is that *in recent years* many business concerns themselves have decided that their own interests would not be jeopardized and might be improved by withdrawal from the central business district.

(197) The planning agency may or may not see advantages to the city as a whole if any particular private enterprise prepares to leave the central business district. But the enterprises that are there should be recorded. The planning agency should know the extent of each, the needs of each to remain with or without additional facilities, and whether or not it is possible to develop this district to meet those needs. For one of the problems, in this district of varied uses, is to discover whether rearrangements can be planned and executed in such a fashion as to secure more order and convenience and economy, for the individual uses and for the district as a whole. It will be important to make this analysis also as a preparation for the study of the problem of adjustment of public land and services to the private land and its uses.

(198) This major and urgent problem arises in its special intensity because of the distinctive and intensive function of the street plan peculiar to a business district. This function, awkward to describe, can be illustrated by comparing it to the function of a railroad's shifting yard, or make-up yard, the tracks of which are not used for the movement of main-line trains. In other words, through traffic, in a city-wide or regional sense, should not be routed along the access streets where business must be conducted. However, in any given block length of a street there will be nonstop vehicular movement (which it would be better not to call through traffic, even though it is this in a very restricted sense); but the vehicles that pass are destined to other streets in the same district, and a vehicle that does not stop today may stop tomorrow.

(199) The street system in this district is likely to be obsolete and ill-adapted to modern motor traffic. It is crowded with vehicles which, having no business-producing function here, should have been diverted elsewhere for their own greater convenience and to make room for other vehicles that bring more business to the mer-

chants of the business district. Moreover, the land values created by the pedestrian and vehicular traffic have fertilized the growth of high buildings having a very high percent of land coverage. Practically all the streets are unexpandable unless private properties yield a part of their area for the purpose. This is a dramatic illustration of the absence hitherto of a soundly calculated physical and economic adjustment between private land and the public land intended to serve it. In one sense it can be said that the buildings have choked each other, and that many of the demolitions of recent years are due indirectly to that cause.

(200) Early manifestations of these conditions not having been analyzed, an inadequate surface street system was not corrected. So-called remedies were sought by introducing sub-surface or overhead transportation. These later facilities speeded up and accentuated the physical and economic unbalance between congested public facilities and the overbuilt private properties, the accidentally spotted excessive densities of occupancy, and a variety of other undesirable results. Some of these penalties were a matter of health, through overcrowding of people, or through loss of daylight and fresh air due to the crowding of buildings. Some bad results were financial, through encouragement of over-ambitious structures, or the loss of rentals due to the blindly unexpected arrival of the overcrowded and darkened working spaces.

(201) Much of this difficulty of the building enterprises is inherent in themselves and their immediately adjacent structures. The planning agency, studying this situation, will know that merely luring more buyers into the business district will not bring back light and air to undesirable office or work space, and that these evils have a baneful influence on otherwise good properties. They require direct remedies and not merely general neighborhood encouragement.

(202) This lengthy discussion is included here for a number of reasons, not the least of which is that there are many people whose concern about rehabilitation and redevelopment is centered on their particular interest in the central business district. Another reason is to suggest the kind of evidence which shows that developments were initiated, and huge sums were expended in the past, without a realistic calculation as to the possibility of evil results. A third reason is that, apparently, no one contemplated the seriousness of that need which now is faced by the planning agency, for analysis and for a guiding policy based on that analysis.

(203) And the final reason for this extensive presentation is that the same lack of fundamental and accurate appraisal of the basic problems persists today. This is evidenced by the character of the pro-

posals for relief that often are made, and by the fact that few if any of them are directed to solving really basic problems in a technologically sound manner. A planning agency should think twice if it is asked to endorse, for example, a proposed new traffic artery to throw additional traffic into a business district, if that district has not been prepared previously to receive that traffic and to handle efficiently the traffic movements within the district.

(204) Summing up the broad concepts with which the planning agency must be concerned, if it is to help the central business district become a more efficient and economically sound part of the community: (a) It will consider the most appropriate uses of the extensive cleared areas that some cities now reveal; (b) it will try to encourage a more modern and less intensive layout of the land which is to be developed with buildings; and (c) it will give attention to at least the following ideas, and it will express its reasoned judgment upon each of them, favorably or unfavorably as the facts and their sound interpretation determine.

(a) Creation of detour routes, to eliminate traffic that brings no business to the district.

(b) Creation of encircling arteries to be collectors and distributors of traffic moving inward and outward, and to reduce the length and time of travel within the district.

(c) Designing of special intersections, or traffic valves, such as grade separation devices, which may be necessary or desirable at the places where tributary radial traffic arteries connect with the encircling collector and distributor arteries.

(d) Location of proper automobile parking facilities, off street, of sufficient capacity to serve as needed terminals for this type of transportation.

(e) Improving mass transportation facilities and routings.

(f) Redesigning and rebuilding close-in areas so as to reestablish therein residences for families of sufficient income to recreate a part of the central business district's patronage, now lost because of previous community neglect.

Peripheral Areas.

(205) It has been made clear that the "area to be planned" is not confined within the political boundaries of the central city or within any one political unit. Reference has been made to the need to consider outside areas even if at first the planning agency is handicapped in its attempt to study them. These peripheral areas exhibit many interesting physical, social, and financial characteristics,

all of which may be colored by the arbitrary political subdivision of the region into separate or overlapping taxing jurisdictions and administrative set-ups.

(206) With rare exceptions the growth of outside communities has revealed a repetition of the same good and bad procedures typified by the central city, but with the significant difference that the bad procedures often have not yet gone so far as to bring a day of reckoning comparable to that faced by the central city. But for the most part the undesirable trends are there; the need exists to take stock while there is yet time. The satellite communities, which could not exist without the central city, must be assisted in reforming their plans of development and financing in harmony with the central city's efforts to rearrange its physical layout, to encourage proper redevelopment, and to put its financial affairs in order.

(207) The planning agency's general studies may very well ignore, for the time being, the political jurisdictions as such and include the peripheral areas when examining "the area to be planned" and when identifying "study areas" of different types. It is recognized that some of the region's blighted and slum areas of the worst type may lie beyond the limits of the central city (perhaps in or adjoining industrial suburbs) and often lie across the boundary lines of two or more political jurisdictions. In other words, redevelopment must be studied for the area where the problems are, instead of giving separate attention to some parts or ignoring others according to the political jurisdictions.

(208) All such areas should be mapped and appraised in the manner outlined elsewhere in this chapter. There is equal need to designate required expansions or improvements of thoroughfares, sewers, water, transportation, schools, etc., in the peripheral areas. The region is a physical and social entity and one of the community's more difficult later problems is the elimination of the restrictions against constructive action due to political differentiations, and to the obsolete breaking up of public administration and financing into small badly coordinated units.

Analysis: Appraisal of Characteristics.

(209) From the moment the planning agency considered and plotted existing patterns (see Part IV), it will have been analyzing and appraising the characteristics of population and land use throughout all the area to be planned. Therefore, it will be possible to identify now (if not already identified) certain characteristic types of area such as those enumerated earlier under the heading "Study Areas." As these areas are observed and analyzed, it will become clear:

(a) That the blighted and slum areas require a reassignment of land use, and adjustment of population, involving better design with more amenities and more assurance of excellence and stability.

(b) That in other localities practical measures of agreement and control must be applied to prevent or retard deterioration, to forestall the creation of undesirable conditions which ultimately would result in blight.

(c) That in still other localities there are yet to be provided some public services and facilities such, for example, as schools, sewers, recreation sites, transportation, etc.

(d) That extensive vacant areas call for designation of appropriate future uses.

(e) That the calculations of future population mentioned earlier are over-all indications of the kinds and extent of need for buildings and for public services and facilities to be dealt with as parts of the comprehensive planning problem.

(f) That in specific instances there must be discovered the most appropriate future use of a locality and the means whereby present inappropriate uses can be eliminated by abandonment or relocation in more appropriate surroundings, thus directing the growth of the locality to a chosen new and better condition.

(g) That all the changes that might be justified ultimately will require years to accomplish and that, therefore, a program will be required for the progressive accomplishment of the changes—a program so flexible that it can be kept constantly adapted to changing conditions and needs.

(210) A study map should be started, upon which ultimately there will be roughly indicated designations of master plan elements for the area to be planned. At first, the areas for study will be indicated. The general type of analysis having been indicated above, it would be well for the planning agency to prepare separately a brief appraisal of each designated area, reciting therein the merits and the deficiencies thereof and concluding with a rough generalization as to the improvements that are needed. A booklet of this character will be very useful, particularly if in two or at the most three pages devoted to each area there are noted both the main items evidencing physical deterioration, obsolescence, social and financial liabilities, inadequacies of public facilities, etc., together with any obviously indicated types of improvement and redevelopment. The booklet will refer to an accompanying map. This in-

complete study map and the supplementary documentation will then be ready for consideration with other needs and factors, as indicated below.

Consolidation and Reconciliation of Studies.

(211) Rough planning studies will have been made for main thoroughfares, recreation, and various other public services. Similar rough studies of rearrangement, improvement, and redevelopment will probably have been deemed desirable or necessary for some of the areas mentioned above and shown on the study map and described in the appraisal booklet. At this point the planning agency must undertake to harmonize its different study schemes which involve different aspects of the entire city or different parts of the city.

(212) No one can tell another (particularly by the written word) exactly how to make this reconciliation of one plan to another, and of each to the whole, in a broad but adequate way. Long-term practicality must be kept in mind. In any event it will be impossible to accept the *best* theoretical study of main thoroughfares, for example, and the *best* study of another basic element if the two *best schemes* are irreconcilable one with another. Discrepancies are inevitable between studies originally approached from single, separate angles, and such discrepancies must be eliminated. Experienced planning judgment, if it has not been constantly available before, is now indispensable.

Designating Areas for Developments: Other Needed Improvements.

(213) As all the preliminary and tentative studies have progressed and finally have been adjusted (reconciled) one with another, the results should be designated more precisely on the study map mentioned in paragraph 210. Each of the designated areas (with its supplementary documentation) should be identified with a tone or color and appropriate letter or symbol. The latter will be used for reference in a tabulation illustrated in this section. Meantime, the planning agency will be able to see several things on this map that are clues to the final working material. The map will show:

(214) 1. Spots or areas, particularly identified in the manner previously described, sometimes with the defined areas overlapping each other, extensive but probably all together representing a *comparatively minor proportion* of the entire area of the city or of the entire area to be planned.

(215) 2. A large proportion of the entire territory, unspotted with areas designated for appraisal or "improvement on an area basis," and roughly divisible into these categories:

(a) The built-up land which requires no major improvement treatment by area.

(b) The buildable but as yet not built-upon land which may be occupied by new buildings for either new population and uses or for existing population and uses that may later be displaced from their present localities. (Also available for recreation sites, etc.)

(c) The presently unbuildable, or waste land.

(216) The planning agency now has a good general representation of land use and population characteristics of different kinds, and of where and how these characteristics are related to one another in particular parts of the city. Having confined itself to broad general procedures up to this time, the planning agency should continue by listing (but not yet estimating) the general projects and areas of improvement, by types, that are implied by the map under consideration, but without regard to *when* the improvements should take place (see later) or whether the city can afford them (see later). This listing procedure is illustrated best by the Tabulation of Improvements which follows.

(217) Also, and very importantly, the planning agency has a proper basis for *a much needed study of the zoning of the city, or of its rezoning*. Important as this is, this handbook attempts to give no *specific guidance* concerning reduction of areas overzoned for particular uses, or increasing the extent of some uses, or liquidation of non-conforming uses as these appear in relation to a new land use pattern and its control by zoning. It is obvious that the community's intention to encourage appropriate land uses as expressed by the land-use plan is the indicator of the zoning regulations, of traditional character or freshly devised, which should be incorporated in an amended old, or a new zoning ordinance and zoning map.

A Reservoir of Items of a Long-Term Improvement Program.

(218) In any community, a glance at the formidable list of improvements indicated below (which probably is the first really comprehensive forward view of the next several decades) should be a tonic experience, for the planning agency of course, but more especially for the local administration and the public. Altogether the needs for various public facilities and for improvement of extensive areas by redevelopment constitute a huge reservoir of possible items of a long-term improvement program.

(219) To set up such a program (implying one that will be amended from time to time) will not be easy if it is to be properly done. The community can no longer afford to have successive improvement

Tabulation of improvements—An example of a listing of the city's physical needs

[A tabulation of classified improvements that are needed, referring also to special map of same. (If desired, this tabulation could be developed further with subclassifications, varied types, etc.)]

Map designation	General type of those improvements which should be made upon an area basis									
SPOTS REQUIRING TREATMENT BY AREA										
Nos. 1, 4, 10.....	Rehabilitation. No change in street pattern or main utility lay-outs. No nonresidential uses involved.									
Nos. 2, 3, 7.....	Rehabilitation and redevelopment. Change of part of street plan of about $\frac{1}{4}$ of area, half for housing and half for nonresidential uses; 5 percent increase in housing, type "d", new neighborhood retail district.									
Nos. 5, 8.....	Redevelopment. No change in street plan; 3 percent of buildings retained; new housing of all types; large new grade school, new 3-acre playground (3 acres industrial site in area No. 5).									
Nos. 6, 9, 11.....	Redevelopment. New street plan; two types new housing $\frac{1}{4}$ "d", $\frac{3}{4}$ "c", grade and junior high schools, athletic center and playground; small business area no expansion of adjacent business.									
	General functional services required. Improvements shown by master plan for districts not to be developed on an area basis									
	Major thoroughfares	Trunk sewer lines	Trunk water lines	Schools	Recreation sites	Mass transportation	Railroad improvements	Waterfront improvements	Institutions	Public buildings
Built up districts..	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓			✓
Vacant. Buildable land ..	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	
Vacant. Nonbuildable land.....		✓			✓					

bond issue programs of the traditional kind wherein one type of improvement (highways, for example) exceeds in cost all the others combined, and in which no provision is made for extensive redevelopment and rejuvenation of areas which are now a community liability. Although public facilities will be necessary, they must be selected with a new and better discrimination. Projects which benefit one district and "bleed" another may be thrown overboard in favor of improvements that are overwhelmingly positive and constructive in their direct and indirect results.

(220) Consideration must be given to the specific need for public facilities in relation to both present and future land uses. If districts are not to be penalized with utilities of excessive costs, there should be careful examination of the prospective costs in relation to land and its uses and its earning power. And in examining these relationships of cost the decisions must be such as to encourage re-establishment of new values, and such as to meet changing conditions.

(221) Moreover, the community's ability to pay must be constantly weighed, not only as an overall consideration but as a reason for discarding projects of less importance in favor of those of more importance, for discarding unnecessary projects in favor of necessary ones. The process of selection will involve analysis of the probable

direct and indirect benefits of all kinds (whether or not precisely measurable in dollars at this time) that each projected improvement promises, together with any temporary or permanent disadvantages, so that a final summation of the ultimate value and ultimate net costs of each improvement may be seen.

(222) *Theoretically*, all the items that have been accumulated in the planning agency's studies should be summarized in this thorough fashion. *Practically*, the planning agency may limit this thoroughness of evaluation to a reasonable number of projects, while not departing from a strictly technical planning point of view. *This kind of impartial technical analysis and judgment assures thoroughly sound knowledge of needs and the ways to supply them. It is the only safe basis for measuring how far compromises can be made safely in the public interest.* For compromise will probably be expected as an inevitable aspect of public administration, and to many allegedly clever persons in public life the fact that a compromise is effected is more important than the validity of the compromised proposal that may have been agreed to.

(223) Assuming that a good job is done, progressively, in appraising and selecting that group of projects which appears best to include in a first span of five or six years of the anticipated long continued improvement program, there still remains the problem of determining further the order of urgency of those that are selected. *Certainly that city will be unfortunate which has not developed its general plans and those specific studies outlined in this handbook to the point where an area-redevelopment project can be seriously considered in the initial period of the long-term improvement program.*

(224) The desired revenues for redevelopment cannot come out of the presently blighted areas in their present substandard condition. Nor can they be expected to come out of the same areas when in process of rehabilitation. There must be an increase of the tax revenues from other and sounder areas or from entirely different sources; or there must be curtailment of public expenditures; or all of these. Since some public outlays will be essential in any effective redevelopment scheme, *then if public improvement outlays are to be curtailed the eliminations must be improvements which, in analysis, show no benefit to close-in retrograde areas and appear to threaten uneconomic decentralization and other shifts of population.* Again, since reduction in expenditure for debt service is important, and since evolution toward pay-as-you-go policy is highly desirable, the net available sums for rehabilitation and redevelopment cannot be spent upon dubious or hazardous undertakings.

(225) As a matter of fact, the whole procedure of analysis and selection and fixing the order of urgency would be facilitated if a group of private financial interests (see Part VIII) had already become so fully informed of the planning agency's studies that a preliminary understanding had been effected with the city looking to preparation of detailed plans and estimates for redevelopment of a specific area. If private interests have not yet been encouraged to proceed thus far, obviously the planning agency should assume an additional obligation. If the staff is adequate in number of persons having the required kinds of skill (but only if thus equipped), the planning agency itself may develop more or less detailed studies, and tentative calculations of cost, of a redevelopment scheme such as private interests might be assumed to become concerned with later when the studies are exhibited to them. See Part VIII where this extended procedure is outlined; also paragraphs 215-216.

(226) *The planning agency now is reasonably prepared to enter a field in which some persons concerned with financial and administrative questions have assumed that planners could be called on to assume responsibility without preparation.* It is ready to begin broad appraisals and calculations, and the selection of items for a long-term improvement program, and for the capital budget with which to pay for the execution of the program. In this new field, the planning agency enters as a contributing and essential cooperator with the city realty corporation (see Part VI), other administrative officials of the municipal government, the municipal legislative body, and (if they are ready) redevelopment corporations (see Part VIII) and public housing agencies (see Part IX).

First Considerations of a Capital Budget.

(227) Some appraisal must be made of the community's financial ability to pay (alone or with other financial cooperation and aid) so many dollars for so much of this or that, over a period of 5 or 6 years, with the understanding that annual adjustments will be made and the programmed period for which calculations are made will be extended for an additional year, thus assuring a continuing and ever readjusted program.

(228) Often overlooked when calculations are made, especially if made hurriedly and under pressure, are the mounting costs of maintaining an expanding physical plant (for example, more recreation sites, more fire and police stations, more school buildings), and the concurrently increasing annual expenditures required to operate the expanded facilities and services (for example, more supervisors of recreation, more labor, more police, more teachers).

(229) It is very significant, and the fact is startlingly emphasized at this stage of planning study, that the municipality has not yet provided itself with the information necessary to, or devised a method of calculating, an over-all balance sheet and a reference documentation

(a) whereby the community can know with approximate accuracy what public financial obligations will be involved, directly and indirectly, because of any particular and extensive building enterprise or group of small enterprises in which large private (or public) investments are made, whether or not these are of the rehabilitation or redevelopment character implicit in the discussions in this handbook;

(b) whereby the municipality can calculate its revenues in reasonably direct relationship to its expenditures, by physical areas and physical and functional characteristics, and can formulate and finance long-term improvement programs that are well rounded and adapted to the principal known needs.

(230) Here, it would be well to analyze the powers and procedures of any efficient large corporation, with many plants and varied types of machinery and operations. The corporation, while continuing to operate and continuing to maintain a stable financial condition, manages to scrap old plants or old machines, to rehabilitate others, to substitute new machinery and operating methods. A municipality can become responsive to and able to meet varied needs, as such a corporation is, only if that objective is accepted as a valid one. One of the needed steps in that direction is this first one of developing the knowledge and the financial procedures just discussed.

(231) Later in this chapter are discussions of municipal revenues and ability to pay for improvements, and of the impact of large building enterprises on the municipal treasury. If the sort of inquiry suggested there is pursued with some degree of success, a more satisfactory appraisal of these financial matters can be made than has been customary. Meantime, the planning agency should be prepared (with municipal fiscal officers and others, as indicated in this handbook) to use the municipal financial estimates. These official statements should reveal the probable amounts of expenditure which the city now thinks it can afford to spend each year for a period of 5 or 6 years. Such figures should be accepted for the purpose of measuring how many, and determining which, improvement projects that have been listed and roughly estimated the city can afford to undertake within the specified 5 or 6 years. See paragraph 228.

City Finances: A. Municipal Revenues.

(232) It is not possible or desirable here to discuss the varied sources of municipal revenue or the percentages of total available revenue which on the average come from different sources. The present discussion is limited to questions of how much can be expected from *families* occupying dwellings upon which taxes must be paid, and from *business or industrial enterprises* which also contribute property taxes to the local treasury.

(233-a) Calculations of the present population and estimates of future population must be considered. The planning agency should ascertain the number of persons (or families) in the present population having incomes which fall within several predetermined ranges. It would be better, if practicable, if the number of *families* could be ascertained, inasmuch as the purpose of ascertaining these groupings is to get at the question of need for housing for families in the several income groups requiring dwellings (rented or owned). An attempt should be made to secure from appropriate sources the information revealing the number of families in each of several previously selected "income ranges." This information in the aggregate indicates total purchasing power of the whole population and total purchasing power for each income group. Moreover, for each group the family income points toward the amount of expenditure each family can afford to make out of its budget for dwelling accommodations (also for food and clothing). Individual families are entitled to all the protection provided by any laws prohibiting publicity as to individual incomes which they have reported to public officials. If information is to come from such sources only the classifications by income ranges and the number of families in each range will be required for planning purposes. The lower income groups which have paid no income taxes can be calculated only as to aggregate income, but that figure can be divided by the number of families to ascertain the average family income. Any further breakdown of this group will probably not be a matter of record.

(233-b) If the income-tax data are not available, or can not be had *now* in such form as to meet the need here indicated, other sources of information should be investigated. The "1940 Census of Housing" is one source, the published documents being buttressed by unpublished detailed information which is available. "Real Property Surveys" are another source.

(234) Having secured the breakdown of families by income ranges as of the latest recorded date, it is desirable to supplement this by a similar recording for *two selected earlier dates* so as to give some

indication of upward or downward trends. Officials responsible for accumulation and custody of such data may find it difficult to produce the desired types of information because of the manner in which their figures are compiled, or differentiations between earned and unearned income and "taxable income." Changes of tax policy and techniques of calculation from year to year may present other difficulties or confusions. The planning agency should discuss with such public officials the reasons for requesting this information and the form in which the data should be presented and how it is to be used.

(235) Whatever the latest records show as to the proportions of the population in each of the several income groups, these proportions may be the most suitable ones to use in roughly forecasting how the future population may be proportionately divided according to the same ranges of income. If estimates of income of future population which appear more reasonable or valid can be worked out, then the present proportions of families in different income groups will naturally be discarded in favor of those estimates. The accepted series of percentages being agreed upon, they should be applied to the estimated total population for the years 1950, 1960, and 1970. Admittedly this will be a very rough prophecy or guess. The figures will be useful in only the broadest possible way, and they will have no other validity.

(236) Beginning with the present population, and later dealing with future population, the planning agency should prepare a number of rough studies by plottings on the city-wide map, and one after another, in an attempt to relate the total number of families in different income ranges to the total gross acreage of present and proposed residential property (after allowing for all needed *public* open spaces) within the entire area to be planned. These studies are first attempts to ascertain what would be a reasonable spread and density of present population (and, later, future population) according to ability to pay for decent dwellings in the different areas where housing now is or later will be located. See paragraphs 145-148 and 137-139.

(237) These broad studies will begin to reveal (1) a general indication of the total taxes on residential accommodations which occupant families can afford to pay and (2) a possible general but not detailed distribution throughout the city of families of different income ranges and the dwellings they are to occupy. For the moment these figures and other implications must stand until there have been calculated the municipal costs that would be involved in meeting these proportionate distributions of dwelling demand. At that time it may appear that the only way to meet the municipal

financial obligation will involve (a) the imposition of economies in public expenditure equitably distributed and (b) a shift of part of the tax burden to some other designated source of income than the taxable land and buildings which are being considered here, a shift which should be carefully calculated in amount, and effected so as to avoid financial shocks.

(238) If the studies just mentioned are tentatively crystallized upon a city-wide map, a general pattern of possible revenue payments from residential areas will appear in terms of *what the families living in such areas can afford to pay directly or indirectly in taxes*. This should be maintained as a working document, corrected from time to time. It will be useful as a background for reference because, even if the specific areas designated on the map for occupancy by particular groups of particular income are not geographically correct or precise, the map and any tabulated statistical data necessary to supplement its explanation *will show an over-all ceiling* of possibly collectible taxes on residential property for all the urban population except those in the upper middle and top income brackets, i. e., those for whom the payment of taxes for dwelling accommodations does not jeopardize the purchase of other necessities.

(239) The planning agency should also give attention to public revenues receivable in taxes upon the land and buildings occupied by business and industrial concerns of different kinds. Such an inquiry is not outlined here. It only requires careful formulation and execution on a technological planning basis. There should be no distortion of the inquiry because of political expediency or theory. If public policy later requires that there shall be some special adaptation in tax policy, the planning agency will be able to offer this particular part of its "reference map of public revenues from properties" as a technological norm or measurement scale against which to appraise suggested deviations and compromises. Of course, this reference map alone is not enough, even with supplementary statistical data. It will be used almost always in comparison with maps and documents which reveal the aggregate and specific demands upon the municipality to expend its revenues progressively for needed improvements and services of various kinds.

City Finances: B. Impact of Property Developments on Municipal Treasury.

(210) In some cities (New York, for example) calculations have been made to discover how much the municipality must expend to construct, maintain, and operate specific public facilities for the service of sizeable areas, in different geographical locations in relation to the city layout, within which are predominantly one or another of

several selected types of building development and occupancy and use. Such calculations may be very useful, even if the calculations cannot be determined as precisely as might be desired.

(241) It is important to ascertain as much as possible regarding the impact upon the municipal treasury arising out of the building up and developing, and the demolitions and relocations, involved in both new building enterprises and redevelopment enterprises. Such calculations as are required will bring into the foreground the three questions:

(a) Whether it is financially possible for the municipality to secure the revenues necessary to construct and maintain a community in which no locality is allowed to be or to become substandard;

(b) whether it can do this by dependency upon the calculable revenues from properties;

(c) whether the municipality can appraise its probable future obligations with approximate accuracy and consistency in relation to reasonable expectations of revenue.

(242) It is a major premise of this handbook that the third question must be answered in the affirmative, and that municipalities must learn how to work out and use such calculations for their own financial protection and the conservation of human values. If this be true, the corollary is that there should be a similar attitude and a workable procedure on the part of owners or developers of property, so that their enterprises may be amortized within periods which (so far as humanly can be seen) are adjustable to changing conditions and the need to have future land uses suited to the new conditions.

(243) There is now no conclusive evidence as to whether it is reasonable for any particular part of the urban population in a specific locality to pay so much, and only so much, in taxes upon properties in that locality as will cover the municipal outlays to provide, maintain and operate the public services for that particular locality. Inquiry along such lines will be well worth continuing, apart from whatever reasonably practical decisions are required now in the initiation of a long-term improvement program which includes projects of rehabilitation and redevelopment. But neither a lot with a building, nor a tract with many buildings—nor indeed a whole large district, residential, commercial, or industrial—is an isolated entity in an urban community, separately calculable with respect to all its needs and its obligations to pay an equitably proportioned share of the community's costs.

(244) *In one general sense, nearly everything in an urban community is subsidized to some degree by public expenditures directed to general purposes and benefits which all persons share but which are difficult to disentangle and allocate. This is just as true with respect to areas in other tax jurisdictions beyond the limits of the central city but which are in fact so dependent upon the central city that actually they may be said to feed upon it.*

(245) In spite of the difficulties of ascertaining and allocating municipal costs and obligations in relation to particular localities and the properties therein, the subject should be investigated further. As a clue to the next step it can be asserted that any single contemplated private or public building enterprise can be analyzed so as to show what will be the needs of the people who are going to use the development when completed. Those needs in some cases will be met on the site of the enterprise itself; in other cases the needs have to be supplied in other specific localities or in localities specifically related to the site of the enterprise; and of course communication must be provided between the site and other parts of the community. It is clear, therefore, in the very beginning that the impact of a property development enterprise upon the municipal treasury can be both calculated at the site and traced and calculated at other places which are particularly related to it.

(246) It is urged that analyses and calculations of this sort be a joint undertaking by those particularly concerned with any aspect of redevelopment (and the public's understanding would be greater if the analyses and calculations were made public). It is just as important that conservative private capital interests should see the municipality's financial problems and obligations, as shown by such a demonstration, as it is for the municipality through its appropriate agencies to see the interrelations between city finances and private finances as these are involved by building and development enterprises. For this reason discussion of this type of investigation and calculation is placed in Part VIII, under "Redevelopment Corporations," where the assumption is made that it is a cooperative job. However, as has been noted in paragraph 225, the planning agency itself might carry forward a demonstration study of a project if private interests are not yet ready.

PART VI

THE CITY REALTY CORPORATION AND ITS FUNCTIONS

Need for Efficient Single Agency.

(247) In addition to a competent and efficient planning agency, there is equal need for an agency to deal thoroughly and efficiently with municipal real estate problems. There are a number of such problems (heretofore ignored as to their possible relationships one with another) which should be examined. They are interrelated and deserving of coordination under the supervision of one responsible, business-like, administrative head. This is especially important in connection with a program of redesigning and rebuilding the urban community.

(248) It is proposed that there be created a corporate arm of the local government, to be called the city realty corporation, to which the community will entrust the acquisition of sites for redevelopment and for other municipal purposes.

(249) A corporate arm for the city in slum elimination and land acquisition is suggested, rather than direct action by the city itself, for two principal reasons. *In the first place*, with due regard to the public interest, this corporate device could operate with approximately the same flexibility as ordinary business corporations. Thus, trading of parcels of land is possible. *A second consideration* relates to the general indebtedness of the city and its debt limit in relation to total assessed valuations. It will be necessary to borrow for the purpose of land acquisition and this borrowing should be on the credit of the property acquired and not on the general credit of the city. *Again*, a property acquired by the city, in many instances, is removed from the assessment rolls and these furnish the base for computing total debt limit. Under the corporate device properties held by a city-owned corporation can remain on the tax rolls without affecting the present debt limit. See paragraph 257, item "n".

(250) The powers, the general duties of such an agency throughout a long period, and the manner in which it should be organized, are outlined in the next section of this chapter. That outline itself is the best kind of argument against attempting to have the necessary procedures executed by uncoordinated and diverse

types of bureau or division of the municipal government. The city realty corporation will have other and continuing duties to perform apart from particular redevelopment enterprises.

How the City Realty Corporation Fits Into the Program.

(251) *The planning agency* will prepare the master plan studies that will serve as the groundwork for the rehabilitation program. As a part of such studies, it will designate the total areas which the city needs to rehabilitate or redevelop; the approximate densities of population, or of nonresidential improvements, permissible in the light of the interest of all city property owners and of the municipality; the general character and amount of open spaces desirable to be established and maintained in the revamped areas; and the general relationships which should be achieved between the new design and all the city's major elements and facilities (such as schools, thoroughfares, underground utilities, transportation, etc.).

(252) As a result of the master plan studies and of special investigations, the planning agency will then indicate the places in which the city realty corporation legitimately may sell, lease, hold, or withhold tax-delinquent properties in the light of municipal needs and municipal financial obligations; and the sites upon which the first rehabilitation or redevelopment projects should be considered.

(253) Although more is to be said about the duties of the city realty corporation later in this chapter, and about procedures in this and other chapters, it is well to summarize in advance what this agency is to do with respect to redevelopment. The city realty corporation is to act as the business agent of the local government (or governments, if legally made possible): (a) in acquiring sites, (b) in negotiating contracts with privately financed redevelopment corporations for the execution of rehabilitation or redevelopment enterprises, (c) in dealing with any State or Federal agency that may make contributions to or otherwise participate in a redevelopment program or specific enterprises in such a program, and (d) in maintaining records and reporting regularly on the financial phases of both proposed and operating redevelopment and rehabilitation enterprises.

General Powers of City Realty Corporation.

(254) A state enabling act should be passed giving the municipalities the power of passing local legislation to create a city realty corporation. It is undesirable to set forth a so-called "model law" in this handbook. The legal draftsmanship of the desired law is a matter for local consideration. The main objective, however, is to assure to the new municipal agency both the responsibility and the power that are necessary to do the following things:

(255) *A. To acquire possession or custody of property for the following purposes:*

- (a) To obtain sites for departmental use, as authorized by the legislative body.
- (b) To assemble areas for redevelopment.
- (c) To round up and acquire possession of properties now seriously tax delinquent (usually concentrated either in blighted areas or in undeveloped or sparsely developed outlying areas), thereby clarifying their status and permitting their disposition in accordance with clear-cut policies.
- (d) To acquire custody, with approval of the city legislative body, of all city-owned real estate not used for departmental purposes.

(256) *B. To make disposition of properties in the following ways:*

- (e) By transfer to the various branches of the city government for departmental use.
- (f) To lease a tract of properties, before or after clearance of buildings, to a redevelopment corporation whose plans must have the approval of the planning agency for conformity with the master plan of land use, and with other official city plans, laws, and regulations, and whose financial plans and program must be reported upon by the city realty corporation to the city legislative body and chief executive.
- (g) To sell properties not required or likely to be required for municipal purposes, at such time or times as it appears advantageous to have them transferred to other ownership.
- (h) To hold real estate for further disposition.

(257) *C. To exercise various powers necessary or incidental to the preceding functions, including power:*

- (i) To buy, sell, and exchange real estate, both within and outside the city limits. To lease properties to others, or to lease from the owners thereof.
- (j) To exercise the power of eminent domain.

In acquiring land for departmental purposes, existing statutes probably will provide the necessary authority for use of this power. However, its use in acquiring areas for rehabilitation usually will have to

be granted by new legislation, which will indicate clearly that the power of condemnation is to be granted not alone for the purpose of eradicating slums and blighted areas, but primarily for the major purpose of redesigning and redeveloping the city in such fashion as to prevent or retard the reappearance of substandard conditions. See Part VII.

- (k) To receive gifts of money or real estate.
- (l) To negotiate for the removal and relocation elsewhere of any structure or use which is economically salvageable when and if relocated; and, for that purpose, to acquire, by any of the appropriate procedures mentioned above, the land necessary therefor, and to pay for the actual relocation, if the moving of existing buildings is involved in the process; and with provisions that such actions be in conformity with the official plans and specific designations of the planning agency.
- (m) To demolish buildings within the tracts of assembled land.
- (n) To pay taxes on property that produces revenue.
- (o) To utilize the acquired properties as a basis for loans from fiduciary institutions; and to borrow otherwise.
- (p) To act on behalf of the city government, and with appropriate authorization of the mayor and council, in making fiduciary and other contracts with agencies of the State and Federal Government, relating to the acquisition and financing of sites duly selected for rehabilitation.

Composition of City Realty Corporation.

(258) In drafting the enabling act and municipal ordinances to create the city realty corporation, it should be noted that a group of unpaid commissioners, or directors, is not alone enough to assure proper execution of the functions of the corporation. There is no substitute for a competent paid executive director and staff who work under the general guidance of and subject to the approval of a small board, perhaps only three members. Selection of commissioners should be based in part upon proven experience and judgment in conservative real-estate transactions. They should receive adequate compensation for their services. Perhaps they should be bonded. Appointment should be made by the chief executive of the

city, and be confirmed by the legislative body. Terms of office should be overlapping and reasonably long--say 10 years. Members should be removable for malfeasance, misfeasance, nonfeasance, or failure to attend meetings.

Coordination with Planning Agency Compulsory.

(259) There should be a requirement stipulated in the creating ordinances (or in a direct administrative order from the municipality's chief executive, or both) *requiring* thorough coordination of the work of the city realty corporation and the work of the planning agency. A designated member of the planning agency, or a responsible planning official, should be officially required to attend all meetings of the realty corporation board and to participate, without vote, in all deliberations.

(260) Those who draft legislation may believe that a requirement for coordination between two agencies is not a legislative matter, or that it is superfluous under competent administration, or that no legal provision could be drafted that could be accurately or adequately interpreted. Nevertheless some serious conflicts are certain unless particular care is taken to avoid them, for example, those questions of a "best plan which might be in the long run most economical" versus a "less satisfactory plan which offers some immediate economies." See discussion in Part IV, Long term Practicality Versus Opportunism.

Operating Program.

(261) The city realty corporation's long range objective may not coincide with that of obtaining the quickest possible return of expropriated tax-delinquent or tax-abandoned private properties to the status of tax-paying properties (through sale to the same or other private owners) as a means of building up municipal revenues. Such immediate income may seem of paramount importance to a mayor or city council looking anxiously and opportunistically for additional revenues; but in many instances that temptation or pressure must be resisted.

(262) The realty corporation must have an operating program, which should be coordinated with that of the planning agency. The program properly may be directed along several parallel lines, each aimed at accomplishing a desirable public purpose, roughly indicated below. Note that some communities may believe it wiser to undertake a redevelopment program without at first availing themselves of power to do those two things mentioned in paragraph 264, item 2, and in paragraph 265, item 2. See "Special Comment" in each place.

(263) *Acquiring sites for public use:*

- A. 1. For parks, playgrounds, parkways, highways, ways for public utilities and sewers, and other open spaces. (These acquisitions would include single parcels intended to be additions to old, or the nucleus of new, sites of these types.)
2. For sites for buildings, such as schools, fire and police stations, other municipal departmental buildings, accessory yards and storage spaces in connection with such buildings, public parking lots for motor vehicles, etc.
- B. 1. For sites for public housing projects.

(264) *Acquiring sites for private use:*

1. For sites for such economically salvageable buildings and uses as are inappropriate in redeveloped areas but are economically salvageable by shifting to an appropriate alternative location.
2. For the purpose of redesigning lot and block lay-outs so as to eliminate badly "subdivided" properties which affect a neighborhood disadvantageously, and so as to substitute therefor the most favorable practical arrangements of private building property and the municipal facilities which serve that property; the resubdivided property to be sold to the original holders without profit, or if not desired by them then to be leased to enterprisers, who will build thereon in conformity to the city's master plans so as to assure the creation of desirable and taxable properties.

Special comment.—Some communities will have doubt whether this particular procedure, and the power to follow it, should be accepted at this time. It may be deemed wiser to defer it until other powers and procedures outlined here have been demonstrated adequately under an efficient and honest administrator. If circumstances arise when private capital fears to invest in redevelopment or in new developments because the neighborhood cannot be properly protected, then it may be that there will be demand for the power and procedure that has been deferred.

(265) *Acquiring sites for private use or public use or both:*

1. For redesigning and rebuilding particularly selected sub-standard urban areas, in conformity with the city's master plans, as publicly assembled and owned sites to be leased for

long periods to those who build, hold, and manage the buildings.

2. Acquiring properties which will be held in custody, singly or in groups, through periods of variable duration at the discretion of the planning agency, with advice from the realty corporation, which properties are so selected because they represent land prematurely subdivided or in any case unsuited for development and marketing until some later time in the interest of the community at large.

Special comment.—See similar note under item 2 of paragraph 261. Properties seemingly in this category should be appraised, with particular respect to the probable cost of public acquisition, in contrast to the reflected burden upon the balance of the community if the properties are prematurely developed and marketed. When the time arrives to consider specific action, consideration may be given to an alternative suggestion (not now) that such properties be marketed through issuance of a "certificate of public need."

Adjustment of Control of Operating-and-Financial Policy.

(266) In adapting a financial program of the city realty corporation to an operating program of the kind outlined above, there will be many difficulties. The importance of a carefully and realistically thought-out *controlling policy* cannot be overestimated, particularly in the light of the city's general financial program.

(267) In some cities a long-term capital improvement program, based upon a sound master plan, may have been approved or actually initiated. It may need to be reconsidered in the light of any feasible program for urban rehabilitation and redevelopment. Again, some cities may be launched upon a program to liquidate outstanding debt, over a long period, and to follow a "pay-as-you-go" financial policy. Such a program also might have to be reconsidered in the light of a rehabilitation and redevelopment program. But programs of these kinds are rare. Mostly they are only in the preliminary conversation stage, or have not yet been thought of seriously by responsible officials or civic agencies.

(268) In any case, a financial program and controlling policy for the realty corporation must take into account, among other things, the fact that psychologically and politically (if these be different!) the scales are weighted in favor of expediency and short-term considerations. For the larger interests of the municipality however,

and in the long run for the citizens themselves, the long-term vision and program are of paramount importance.

(269) There may be some danger, unless it is foreseen and avoided, that a city realty corporation will spread its expenditures so extensively, in a geographic sense, as to delay indefinitely the well-timed and consistent assemblage of areas which will be so usable as to promise an increase of economic health for the whole community. An illustration of this danger would be a politically motivated effort to acquire properties, with an eye to personal or sectional advantage, while the larger redevelopment program is being neglected. These considerations, although well worth a word of caution, need not be overstressed, because it is through the instrumentality of such a body as a realty corporation, and its use of good business judgment, that the city must exert the utmost effort to rehabilitate its physical and economic stability.

(270) The realty corporation might borrow initial working capital from the municipality; and additional funds might come as loans from the capital markets, or from local, State or Federal governments under specific conditions devised at that time. See Part X. Part of the realty corporation's administrative expenses will be incurred for functions transferred from other municipal departments, not thereby increasing the community's budget.

Initiation of Cooperative Study.

(271) As already indicated in Part IV, and as implied in the text of this chapter, there should be a recording and classification of tax-abandoned and other tax-delinquent properties. All should be recorded; but a carefully thought-out policy must be evolved, to determine just what tax-delinquent properties should be taken over and in what general order, geographically and with respect to such costs as are involved. (Data on tax-delinquent properties are available, probably, only parcel by parcel and year by year.)

(272) Tax delinquency is one measure of the so-called sub-standard characteristics of retrograde or "blighted" areas noted in Part I. The city realty corporation will become involved, at an early date, in a joint examination of tax-delinquent properties within those areas which the planning agency will designate on the city map as "areas deserving of intensive examination and analysis."

(273) If there be included with these tax-delinquency data, certain financial characteristics of the individual properties which affect the owner and the municipality, and welfare and health characteristics which are ascertainable from civic and municipal agencies dealing

with such matters, it should not be difficult to roughly designate the bad areas on the city map. The data of a real property inventory (if it exists and is reasonably up-to-date) should be supplemented by a physical examination (reconnaissance survey) made by the planning agency and by the realty corporation. A more careful examination, and perhaps additional financial investigation, should make it possible to plot on the city maps, for specific planning study purposes, any further differentiations which appear reasonable. See "Study areas" in Part V.

(274) It is more than likely that, because of its composition and duties, the city realty corporation will be more suited to examination of the financial characteristics of specific properties, which may or may not be tax delinquent, than the planning agency's members and staff. Therefore, among the duties of the realty corporation such investigations should be included. Legal advice should determine whether or not it is necessary to state this in the enabling act and local ordinances under which the realty corporation is established.

(275) The planning agency will have prepared some material, possibly only in general statistical form on a work sheet map (as noted previously). Jointly, these two municipal agencies should plot on a city-wide map those localities in which (at least in the beginning) differentiations can be made as to character and as to the general order in which action ought to be taken with respect to them, as indicated below.

(276) *Group 1.*—Areas obviously requiring early attention and specific study on an "area basis," as indicated in Part V, with special reference to the tax-delinquent and tax abandoned characteristics of the properties, including in this classification: (a) those in which the master plans show that need for recreation sites is most urgent because of density of population and lack of service; (b) those likely to be selected as the *general* location of an early redevelopment project; (c) those in which only rehabilitation of less drastic character is indicated as an early need.

(277) *Group 2.*—Similar areas with similar characteristics, classified in the same way, but seemingly not so much needed as those indicated in group 1.

(278) After the foregoing designations are made, a first and tentative program should be agreed upon as to the general sequence in which the realty corporation will try to deal with the properties which it is desirable for the municipality to secure. The program should not

be too rigid. It may be modified any time that a redevelopment corporation seriously contemplates a project in a particular locality. But the caution should be repeated again not to allow the program to be so erratic and diffuse that realty corporation funds are used up in acquiring properties marked for acquisition some time later in a program, leaving inadequate resources for property acquisition in localities where redevelopment or rehabilitation projects should be encouraged at an earlier date.

PART VII

LEGAL AUTHORITY FOR LAND ACQUISITION

(279) In order to grant city realty corporations authority to carry out the functions described in Part VI, material changes in laws and legal procedures usually will be required. By and large, the prevailing system by which cities acquire land is cumbersome, expensive, and generally has not kept step with the broadening of functions of local government that has been taking place during the past couple of generations. See and note carefully paragraph 249, which would be repeated here but for limitations of space.

The Concept of Public Purpose.

(280) In many cities, law or tradition has tended to limit very strictly the scope of land acquisition by local governments. The prevailing attitude, often manifested in law, has been to discourage or prohibit the acquisition of land by municipal governments, except for specific and immediate use for well established public purposes, and to favor or require the transfer to private ownership of any municipally owned lands not used for such public purposes. However, the use of land ownership as a means of enabling municipal governments to carry on their basic functions better is being widened all the time. See paragraphs 2, 3, and 4 in Part I.

Taking Title to Tax-Delinquent Properties.

(281) Often the taking over of hopelessly tax delinquent properties by the municipal government is highly desirable and sometimes it is imperative. Such taking can be made a simple, effective, and economic method of obtaining land for immediate or future public use. At the same time, especially in the case of prematurely subdivided lots, and in blighted areas, serious delinquencies usually indicate that the land is in an unhealthy condition and needs some form of special treatment in order to restore it to usefulness and health. Many cities, however, are handicapped in, or even legally prevented from taking clear title to such properties. Thus:

(a) In many cities the local government is forced first to offer tax liens for sale, instead of having the initial right to start proceedings to take title. This procedure often compels the government to relinquish title to lands it may want to keep.

(b) In a number of States it is difficult, if not impossible, for the government to obtain a clear title of ownership to tax-foreclosed properties.

(c) In some States, tax liens must be foreclosed by the same procedure that applies to first mortgages, a method so costly that it cannot be used generally, especially for vacant lots.

(d) Current procedure often results in excessive leniency and delay in favor of the non-taxpayer.

(282) In earlier concepts of enforcement, the possession of title by an individual was conditioned on the payment of taxes, and lands which did not pay taxes reverted to the State. It would be wise to return to such procedure. In that case provision should be made for some definite period of delinquency and redemption, followed by swift acquisition by the government.

Condemnation of Property: Public Purpose.

(283) Apart from acquiring property by tax foreclosure, when the municipality wishes to take over properties which the owners do not desire to give up, or wishes to take properties at a lower price than the owner demands, then it proceeds to condemn the property, and the price is adjusted by special legally prescribed processes, involving ratification by the courts.

(284) The fundamental basis for the condemning of property by the municipality is that the taking shall be for a public purpose. State laws often indicate what is a public purpose when condemnation is to be considered. These laws include special ones (public housing laws, for example) which define particular undertakings as having a public purpose.

Enlarged Powers of Condemnation.

(285) In Part VI, reference is made to the exercise of the power of condemnation ("eminent domain") by the municipality, through the agency of the city realty corporation. The purpose of this power of condemnation should be the *redesigning and rebuilding of the urban community. This is a larger and more comprehensive public purpose than the purposes ordinarily underlying the exercise of this kind of power.* For example, condemnation power given for use in public housing programs usually is restricted to the purpose of slum clearance and the construction of dwellings for low income families not otherwise able to secure decent housing. In some cases the elimination of the slum is the public purpose regardless of whether the land is used for such housing.

Condemnation Exercised by Public Agency.

(286) Having in mind the comprehensive and fundamental purpose of exercising the power of condemnation as an aid in the process of redesigning and rebuilding the urban community, there is much to be said against permitting condemnation power to be exercised by private interests—even though such private interests may be represented by a redevelopment corporation (see Part VIII) participating in a public enterprise. The first challenge to such a procedure might be that of essential unfairness in compelling some private owner to hand over the title to his property to a group of other private citizens with the possibility that the latter would thus be enabled to obtain a safe investment for their funds, or a profit, from the use of the condemned property.

Preparation Adjusted for Favorable Action by Courts.

(287) But a still more fundamental point has to do with the ostensible public purpose of the redesigning and rebuilding enterprises that are to be carried on year after year. *This ostensible public purpose must be authentic; it must be substantiated. This can be done only if the legislation requires, as a precedent to condemnation, that the community, through its official planning agency, prepare and adopt a master plan, or plans, for the urban community, with which there will be evidence that the physical and economic changes that are proposed have been adequately studied with a view to the conservation and enhancement of the city-wide and collective interests of all property owners and citizens.*

(288) Because the power of condemnation will be essential for the long-term program, and should be so exercised as to promise favorable judicial decision if challenged in the courts, the requirements of procedure precedent to and in its use are of vital importance. The best conditions for a favorable test case in the courts are those where a maximum public interest is involved. (Such a case might be one in which changes in streets and other public areas would play an important part, as well as the provision of sites for redevelopment building projects.) It is well to recognize that this field of law is not yet well defined by court decisions, and that the first cases that may be brought to court will play an important role in developing and establishing the law, and may thereby involve far more than the immediate situation involved.

(289) Further, the legislation for condemnation not only should provide for the taking of title to property by the municipality, with the obligation to retain ownership, but also, with certain safeguards yet to be devised, it might very well include now or later, if legal to do so, the permission to acquire properties which may be restored

to original owners later, with or without alterations to the plots or perhaps in the form of newly laid out plots in the immediate vicinity of the original ones. For substantiating discussion on this latter point, note carefully paragraph 264, item 2 and "comment" therein.

Reduction in Costs of Acquiring Property by Condemnation.

(290) For rehabilitation programs to succeed, the sites must be obtained at a fair price, and to achieve this the cost of acquiring properties by condemnation, including both the expenses of proceedings and the amount of the awards, must be moderate. Even though only a minor fraction of the properties in a tract may be condemned, the probable prices obtainable under condemnation inevitably exert some influence on prices paid in negotiations.

(291) Most States can easily make improvements in procedure that would speed up condemnation cases, reduce costs, and shorten the time required to enter into possession. There are States where the legislative body could prescribe specific tests of value that will result in less emphasis being placed on estimates—usually designated as "export"—based on current selling prices, and greater emphasis on the more fundamental considerations involving the probable earning power of the property. It should be admissible evidence, for example, that substandard buildings existing in violation of laws are subject to the possibility of enforcement that might involve their destruction or substantial expense to secure their compliance with the law.

(292) The main point, most important of all, is that redevelopment and rehabilitation cases should be presented in such a compelling way that the public, the court, and others concerned will recognize that the paramount concern is reasonable land-assembly cost. This can be accomplished best when the taking of the land is preceded by a period of planning, public education, and law enforcement. Note paragraph 367, item 7b.

(293) A suggested approach to a condemnation jury is to take it out to the site and let the members see the physical decay, and convince them: that it is the result of long-time trends, and not the result of the depression or the bottom of a neighborhood cycle that is sure to rise again automatically; that automobiles, roads, population trends, living standards, etc. are involved; that the odds are against the ability of individual property owners to bring back the character of the whole neighborhood, without which they could not hope to secure sustained income from their property. The jury should be furnished with a first-hand analysis of the causes of the situation, organized and introduced in shape as evidence. At the same time, it

should be made clear that various public improvements and provisions of public open space are part of the same picture as the assembly of tracts on which the redevelopment corporations are to build.

Intermediate Questions.

(294) Those concerned with these problems will become aware of intermediate questions requiring careful thought; for example:

(a) Whether a State enabling act, or an amendment of the State constitution, or both, are required before a municipality may prepare for and exercise the power of condemnation which is outlined herein.

(b) Whether a State act to permit condemnation (for the purposes mentioned herein) should designate the particular branch of the municipal government which is to exercise that power, or be simply a general enabling act naming no administrative arm of the city government.

PART VIII

PRIVATELY FINANCED REDEVELOPMENT CORPORATIONS TO PARTICIPATE IN PROGRAM: PARTICULARIZED STUDIES

Legislation Relating to Redevelopment Corporations.

(295) *Identification.*—This handbook describes the general procedure by which areas are selected and sites acquired for redevelopment through the collaboration of the planning agency and city realty corporation, and how they are to be leased to *privately financed* redevelopment corporations. (It is pertinent to point out that there is ample precedent for long-term leases: many large buildings and real estate developments have been built on leased land.) Bearing in mind this general relationship among agencies, and the part to be assumed by redevelopment corporations, some legislation at least will be desirable ordinarily to designate such corporations and to identify their particular adjustment to a redevelopment program and to the other agencies participating therein.

(296) Under the general program outlined in this handbook, in which the assembly of sites and the financing of such assembly is made the responsibility of official agencies, *such legislation should be much simpler, and more limited in scope, than the redevelopment corporation legislation enacted or proposed in a number of States during recent years. There is sufficient difference between what is provided by existing pioneer legislation and what is outlined in this handbook to justify a warning against confusing one with another.*

(297) *Name.*—The words "redevelopment corporation" should be part of the legal title of any corporation taking a cooperative part in a program of urban rehabilitation and redevelopment which comprehends the types of public control and public assistance outlined in this handbook. Such identification in a corporation's title will reveal at once the distinction between building corporations of traditional commercial character and the special type of corporation which is a joint participant in the program of rehabilitation and redevelopment. This need for special identification may be just as important in the future if questions arise as to such an agency's powers, regulation, and the assistance that it may receive.

(298) If an ordinary corporation finds it to be financially feasible at its own expense, to acquire a site and complete a rehabilitation or rebuilding project, such an enterprise need have no public assistance beyond what now is available, and no public controls other than those applying to other building projects generally under the master plans and other codes and regulations, including zoning. If it wishes to build on land leased from the community, which land has been acquired for redevelopment purposes, it should be a simple matter for the ordinary corporation to legally convert itself into a redevelopment corporation.

(299) *Organization.*—Apart from the legal name, and statement of legal reason for such name, there probably are no general provisions of a charter for which the corporation laws of the State do not provide. However, the subject should have local study to determine whether or not the State corporation law will require amendments which not only provide for the proper title and statement of objectives and purposes, but also include detailed provisions with respect to the specific operation of a redevelopment corporation. This local study should include:

(a) Careful examination of all major operations of a redevelopment program by all the needed agencies, as outlined in this handbook;

(b) Careful safeguards to avoid confusing the operations of the several cooperative agencies, and to assure their dovetailing one with another;

(c) Review of any existing or proposed redevelopment corporations legislation, to clarify distinctions between them and what is proposed here—having care to assure exercise of the power of condemnation only by the municipality through the city reality corporation under the controls outlined herein.

(300) *Cooperative Adjustment.*—In drafting needed legislation, care should be taken to consider a redevelopment corporation bill in the light of separate old or new legislation which establishes and defines the powers and duties of the planning agency and the city reality corporation, with which agencies each redevelopment corporation must work cooperatively. Coordination should be required.

Basic Requirements of Conservative Private Capital.

(301) Conservative private capital interests may or may not have had intimate first-hand knowledge of the work of a competent planning agency in the local community. Even they have had some such knowledge, there may not have been opportunity to know just why that

agency seemed to accomplish so much less than some groups of the public expected of it. It is highly important that monied interests, independently and jointly with public officials, *should examine the entire program and technique of procedure outlined in this handbook, and then weigh the possibilities of constructive cooperation on a new, more complete and sounder basis than has been possible heretofore.*

(302) Emphasis is laid upon certain agreed-upon rules of procedure which operate as controls over the actions of both the municipality and those who invest their funds in redevelopment or rehabilitation enterprises. Public controls should, of course, be equitable and in the general interest; and they should be counterbalanced by constructive assurances that long-term investors shall have reasonable safety and profit for their investments. Such assurance may be given by establishing and maintaining a sounder municipal fiscal policy such as is suggested herein, and a continuing development program based on better and economically sounder master plans adjusted to the needs of the community.

(303) It is assumed that investment capital is concerned (a) to stabilize the processes of shifting demands for municipal improvements and services, and (b) to stabilize the processes of shifting, or rising or falling, values of property. These corollary objectives are identical with those which the municipality should have in its roles as creditor and debtor. In many instances capital will feel compelled to take a deep interest because of the effect of unstable city-wide conditions upon its own investments. Meantime, all property owners in the community have an interest in what is done and how it is done. *For example, they will be financially affected and much concerned if too great a supply of dwellings or other buildings is to occupy too little land area.* It will be to their advantage as individuals by and large, to their advantage collectively, and to the advantage of the municipal treasury, if there is less overconcentration and more dispersal of values. The municipality's economic interest runs parallel with that of the majority of its citizens.

(304) *It is one of the basic principles of procedure outlined in this handbook that the land in redeveloped blighted areas shall be owned by the community and leased (a) to private interests which will build and own the structures thereon and (b) to any public housing agencies which may build and own the structures thereon. (See Part IX.) This policy of municipal ownership of land and long leaseholds in these blighted areas safeguards the future. It assures the community that it will not be necessary to pay heavy penalties at some later time to acquire land in order to eliminate undesirable conditions or undertake any new redevelopments that may be needed then.*

- (305) A traditional policy, *not recommended for these areas*, implies continued private ownership of the land under relatively short-term "protective restrictions." If that precedent were to be followed, the restrictions would have not only to run with the life of particular structures on the land but run also with the life of all structures and all parcels of land constituting a particular neighborhood or district. Only thus could both the character and the values of such neighborhood or district be effectively protected. Even with zoning regulations added, the needed protection does not appear sufficiently certain through future years to dispel the hesitation of prospective investors.
- (306) As a matter of fact, the restrictions which would be essential to prevent neighborhood damage by individual action out of harmony with neighborhood-protection policy (either by accident or intention, or as an indirect result of otherwise valid enterprises) would so limit individual action with respect to the land itself that the policy of private title to the land would probably be most inconvenient and unattractive. Moreover that policy would be certain to produce again many of the obstacles to a further reassembly of land for such future redevelopment as the community would need in order to meet changing conditions.
- (307) In this same connection, it is interesting to note that the Alley Dwelling Authority of the District of Columbia, when selling land it has acquired in its alley dwelling elimination program and which land it may not think appropriate for housing low-income families, makes a contract with the purchaser which limits what he may place upon the land. This gives reasonable assurance that the particular parcel of land will not be occupied by an inharmonious use during the lifetime of the building specified in the contract. This contract was designed to avoid more prolonged deed restrictions that might involve complications when local government authorities undertake the broader program of preparing master plans, designating land uses, and fixing the same through more durable zoning regulations. Obviously this is an interim protection.

Inquiry Into Possibilities of Investment.

(308) Private interests may have given study to some possibility of a redevelopment enterprise, without any concern at the moment for the local government's attitudes. Or private capital may become interested belatedly, perhaps not until the municipal government itself,

through its planning agency, has developed studies and estimates in which it would like to see private capital take an interest. Such a situation is mentioned at the end of Part V, and the further suggestions not given in that chapter are carried forward here.

(309) Because of the interdependence of the several agencies which must cooperate (redevelopment corporation, planning agency, city realty corporation, etc.), it will be less confusing if what follows is described without reference to the responsibilities of each specific agency. The theoretical assumption for the moment will be that a committee of representatives of the several agencies concerned are developing studies beyond the point reached by the planning agency as noted in Part V.

(310) It is well to begin by selecting that general district of the city wherein it has been agreed to be most likely that rehabilitation and redevelopment should occur first. A map of this district should be available at larger scale, and with more detail showing, than the city-wide map upon which the planning agency's general studies are shown. Considerable data about this district are already assembled, or ready to assemble, in the planning agency's office. Some of the information may be placed on this "district map," or duplicates thereof, on opaque sheets or tracing linen to be superimposed for comparisons and analysis (see Part V). The detail may be shown block by block or parcel by parcel.

(311) The tentatively proposed main thoroughfares (new, or amplified existing, routes) and proposed park and playground areas, will be included, together with the characteristics of areas so far as these can be mapped for visualization. Other information will be in statistical form. To this should be added designations of the extent and degree of tax delinquency, tax abandoned property, municipally held properties which have been foreclosed, real property inventory designations as to physical condition, and such data as are available relative to mortgage foreclosures, etc.

Field Inspections.

(312) A reconnaissance survey, or series of field inspection trips, should be made. Observed conditions will bear out the already accumulated information, or will provide new information such as the extent of more recent demolition of buildings or new building (if any). Data on juvenile delinquency, crime, health, and sanitation conditions should be available to fill out the observers' knowledge of the community.

(313) *It should be borne in mind that the relatively small area of any first undertaking may not be the one in which either the physical,*

or social, or financial conditions, (or any two or all of these conditions) is the worst. The difficulties in dealing with worst districts first are often sufficient to justify beginning some new enterprise where the first experiment will have fewer difficulties to cope with.

Selecting Sites.

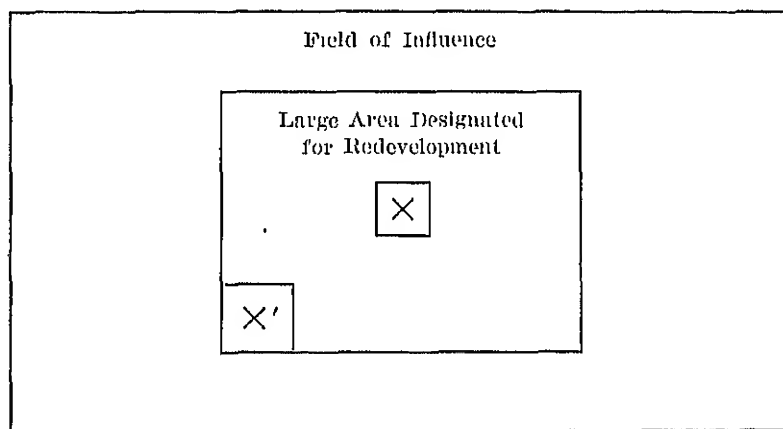
(314) Selection of a "site" will in one sense be arbitrary, but only to a minor degree, because of the thoroughness of the broader studies of the planning agency. It might be worthwhile to select one or more sites wherein only rehabilitation of structures without change of street plan seems to be necessary, and one or more sites where more drastic redevelopment obviously is required. Selecting a boundary sometimes will be very difficult. Since prospective studies are to be only tentative at first, allowance should be made for readjustment of boundary lines later. Each of the selected sites should be subjected to preliminary study and a tentative estimation of direct and indirect costs, perhaps in some locally accepted manner, perhaps in the fashion suggested later in this chapter. Naturally this will suggest a first rough comparison of the relative desirability among the sites as to that one with which it might seem best to start.

(315) A proposed site for a first redevelopment project must be a part of a larger area. In rare instances, under peculiar conditions of physical layout and character, and when very large funds are available, the first actual building enterprise, or "project," may cover the entire area designated for redevelopment. But, in any case, there will be a territory beyond the boundaries of a first project in which conditions may be such as to discourage the enterprise or later to jeopardize its success. Therefore, the local legislative body, on recommendation of the planning agency, should designate the extent of an *"area to be planned; and to be redeveloped within 10 years,"* (or another appropriate, and not needlessly long period). *Upon this area local legislation should establish such regulative control as will safeguard the community's interests in that area's progressive redevelopment. New legal devices may be needed.*

(316) Beyond the limits of this designated area, an additional "field of influence" should be laid out on the map and in turn *should have imposed upon it such official controls* as will (a) prevent or discourage any further deterioration of its character, any increase of the trends which have been characteristic of the growth of blight or slum conditions, or (b) establish a program of new zoning and of elimination of "nonconforming uses" and of encouragement to minor rehabilitation if these are appropriate, and (c) prevent such construction therein as may be obviously intended to exist only long enough to be bought out later at an excessive price through condem-

nation. Cooperative private and public effort to secure this kind of protection is described in the volume "Waverly, A Study in Neighborhood Conservation," published by the Federal Home Loan Bank Board.

(317) A diagrammatic illustration of the designation of these area lay-outs is shown. The "field of influence" probably should be *at least* four or five city blocks in width, unless some topographic barrier or railroad can be an appropriate boundary. On the diagram, two possible locations for the first project are shown. If the central



location, X, is selected, the finished project may thus be isolated in the midst of a poor area until the project expands out to a contact with the better area of the "field of influence." Obviously, this represents a financial hazard which will be carefully weighed along with other factors. Of course, if the proposed redevelopment project is not for housing, the question is raised of its possible bad effect upon existing residential areas surrounding it.

(318) If the alternative location, X' (lying where the area of influence adjoins the *area to be redeveloped*), is considered, the investor sees fair or good conditions on one side and he visualizes a gradual encroachment of the good into and over the area of the bad. But alternatives may not be as simple as this. If housing has been contemplated, and if the area of influence adjoining X' is a good business or industrial district, for example, then consideration will be given to whether X' should be entirely or partly an extension of this business or industrial use. In the latter event, another project site should be found for the housing where it can fulfill its function and also improve a bad area while it benefits and is benefited by an adjoining good area. In any case, this handbook is offering no formula. *There is no substitute for thought and sound judgment exer-*

cised by skilled persons in particular cases, on particular problems, with all the factors appraised individually and collectively.

Tentative Development Plans.

(819) Sketches of tentative character should be made which will conform to the planning agency's master-plan studies (or involve mutual reconciliations therewith) as to distribution of land uses and population within the large area which is to be designated for redevelopment. As part of these tentative sketches, somewhat more detailed sketch plans will be made of the possible development of the "project site."

(820) Thinking back over the procedures outlined in the chapter on planning (Part V) and in particular noting that different future prospective land uses throughout the community were considered, there need be no confusion of thought here. A wide variety of uses having been canvassed, the "district map" being used now (as described in this chapter) should offer opportunities for choice of the best location for any reasonable use (residential or nonresidential) which appeals to a redevelopment corporation or to a number of differently-minded redevelopment corporations. And if such a corporation has in mind principally a *locality* in which it wishes to invest, then the type of use and general character of prospective development will have been indicated in at least general terms by the master plan of land uses. If the district is a close-in one, with all of the possible advantages that such a location offers, it is unlikely for example that the master plan will suggest any considerable amount of housing for families of the lowest income range. See paragraph 201, item "f."

(821) Two types of interrelated financial calculation and estimate can now be made. One relates to the larger area of redevelopment. The other relates specifically to the contemplated project in which private capital is to participate now. Both should reveal something of the relative capacities of private interests and the municipality to cope with all the costs that are involved.

Estimates of a Project.

(822) Because the procedure is well known, it is not necessary here to give a detailed outline of how to calculate, from a development plan, the cost of all the physical construction (public and private) that is involved *on the project site*. Although the procedure of ascertaining the cost of constructing and maintaining the facilities (public and private) that are to be provided *on the site*, or the cost of public and private operation of services and facilities *within the*

site, are somewhat less well known, except perhaps to the city engineer, their detailed outline is also omitted here.

(323) In this connection, two factors should be calculated last because they involve particular considerations. One of these factors is the cost of borrowed money, and its breakdown in interest rate, amortization period, replacement allowances, etc. The other factor is the *value of the land to the proposed enterprise or, in this instance where leasing is contemplated, the land-leasehold value*. If the various necessary items are too rigidly and arbitrarily fixed, the enterprise may never become more than paper calculations. Assuming that there is flexibility available, all calculations should be carried through to the last item, land-leasehold value. The valuation so calculated almost invariably will be adequate to cover the payment of a fair price for all the land in the area of the project, and probably in many cases will cover also a fair remuneration for the buildings.

(324) If the best prices obtainable by negotiation or condemnation result in a total greater than the figure arrived at according to the method outlined here, the difference between the two sums will indicate the maximum contribution which the public might consider itself justified to contribute through governmental channels. When there is a public contribution, it should correspond to the excess in the *cost of acquiring the site* over the value of the *site as a part of the project*.

(325) In whatever form the public contribution may be made, or by whatever agencies or levels of government, the city realty corporation should spare no pains to make sure that its approximate amount is fairly computed and frankly recognized. The methods of calculation already suggested were designed with this purpose in view. The public contribution should be an openly avowed payment to obtain the most desirable type of remedy, from the point of view of the whole public, for a condition jointly caused by the action or the neglect of a succession of property owners, a succession of public officials, and a succession of voters. The present representatives of these groups may have been guiltless of error, but they are the ones who jointly must apply the proper remedies.

(326) Proposals for public contributions in the form of tax exemptions usually have proved to be opportunistic devices for giving public aid. Often the value of it has not even been properly computed, much less frankly stated, and it could not be repeated extensively to encourage more rehabilitation or redevelopment. Although some parts of redeveloped areas

might be devoted to low-income-family housing, if the suggestions made later in Part IX are followed, all or practically all the redeveloped areas, in which the land is fairly assessed and leases are at a fair annual rental, will be able economically to furnish and should contribute regular and normal taxes.

(327) The lease may provide that the payments for the ground rent shall be made directly to the city realty corporation, and that payments representing property taxes shall be made through the regular tax collection channels. Such an arrangement will help to maintain equitable bookkeeping, and contribute to a clear understanding of the financial aspects of redevelopment and rehabilitation.

(328) One significant characteristic of the urban set up has already been mentioned (see par. 229), and it is clear that there are calculations yet to be made to complete the appraisal of the contemplated project. These involve expenditures *beyond the limits of the project site* which ordinarily are left for consideration (if any) by the municipality at a later time. Included in this category, among other things, are:

- (a) The cost of acquiring and developing land for recreation and school purposes;
- (b) New sewer and water facilities or replacements of old ones;
- (c) Major thoroughfare extensions or modifications;
- (d) Transportation facilities;
- (e) The maintenance and operation of all such facilities;
- (f) Whatever public costs are involved in providing adequate municipal facilities of all kinds for the population which is shifted away from the redevelopment site to another location or locations in the urban area. See paragraph 330.
- (g) The cost of eliminating "nonconforming" uses in adjacent districts, as a measure of protection.

(329) Obviously, in many instances major public facilities will serve more than merely the first contemplated redevelopment project and should be charged proportionately against what they serve, so far as this is possible. *Hence it is important that the second type of calculation should be made.* It will be similar to the first but will be made in more general terms, and be influenced by the sketch plans for development of the larger area designated for redevelopment. A check-up of the larger plan and its estimates with the project plan and its estimates ought to reveal practicable and equitable reconciliations.

(330) In some instances the population now in blighted or slum areas may be made up very largely of families of very low income. Probably, with public relief assistance they collectively contribute something to the landlords and through them something in taxes to the community. But in the main they represent a deficit to the municipal treasury. When such families move elsewhere, they carry the deficit characteristic with them to new localities where the demand they create may reveal a need for expansion of school facilities and other public services. It is possible that in the district to which these families are shifted there will result a fall in values if the properties therein have previously been well maintained and occupied by higher-income families. It is to this kind of situation that reference was made in item "f" of paragraph 328.

(331) So long as there are families requiring public assistance because of inadequate income, just so long will it be necessary to examine and calculate the direct and indirect public expenditures required when these families are shifted from one location to another. Public expenditures or net losses may be involved when higher-income families relocate. But the point here is not so much that costs are involved as it is to note that items of reduced public revenue due to the low family income should be *identified* and calculated.

(332) When and as the community acquires and assembles property so as to have a site for redevelopment, two other items must be calculated. One obvious cost is that of demolition of unusable structures, a cost that may on occasion be offset by salvage value of materials. More than likely a period of glutted market for such materials can occur just when demolitions must be accomplished and in that event there will be public expenditures for demolition of structures and removal of materials.

(333) A second item of cost represents actual expenditure to move and relocate structures and equipment to another and more appropriate location elsewhere. That should be considered particularly in the case of some going concern, entirely satisfied with its substandard surroundings but standing in the way of execution of a desirable redevelopment plan. Acquisition of the new site for such shifted private enterprises may be an added expenditure. At least there should be, in the beginning, an estimate of such costs to compare with the probable awards made in condemning the enterprises outright and allowing the owners to shift elsewhere as they please in accordance with the over-all land use plan of the community. Fi-

nally, against either one of these alternative estimated costs, the possibility and desirability must be weighed of retaining such enterprises in their present locations and accepting a less desirable general redevelopment plan surrounding and adjusted to these retained enterprises. But this solution of the difficulty may represent false economy in the long run if the enterprises are really inharmonious with the best use of the neighborhood or district which is being redesigned and reconstructed.

Municipal Ability to Pay.

(331) If the procedures outlined in this chapter have been derived from those outlined in Part V, and mutual adjustments between them have been given proper attention, a final stage has been reached. It consists of joint consideration of all the significant material produced up to this time. The redevelopment corporation, the city realty corporation, and the planning agency should give attention to that listing of the community's physical needs which has been prepared previously by the planning agency as illustrated in the tabulation on page 59.

(335) Before calculating, certain types of analysis should be foreseen. A series of calculations should be made, first in broad terms, with respect to all the study areas where it is apparent that redevelopment, when undertaken, should be "on an area basis." In the case of a large-scale redevelopment project, the city realty corporation and other branches of the local government will have to decide numerous questions as to the proper allocation of charges and credits between (1) the site that is to be leased to the redevelopment corporation or corporations for private development, and (2) land used for public purposes, such as widening of thoroughfares, extra land required for grade separations at thoroughfare intersections, enlarged school sites, and possibly sites for departmental buildings. Unless such items are reasonably allocated, the real costs of the rehabilitation project could be obscured, or lost sight of; for example, land that ordinarily would be considered yard space might be turned into parks and playgrounds and paid for by the city, or the city might take for parks and other public purposes the particular parcels that were the most expensive to acquire, paying actual cost, rather than the average price paid for all the properties in the area. With such confusing methods, a project receiving further aids might end up with an inordinate total public contribution. Or, again, another project might never receive a fair hearing if plans were made to charge it with an undue share of improvements of city-wide importance, and with local improvements of a character common in

other sections of the city and which might be considered as having been long owed to the area.

(336) Resuming considerations noted in paragraph 334, an attempt should be made to classify the various study areas according to different types of treatment they will require. For example, some of them will need new streets or paving but not new sewer or water mains. Others will require new sewers or water lines. Some will require new schools within the area; others new schools beyond the limits of the area; still others will not need new schools but might require replacement of worn-out sewers. Some will need an addition to or remodeling of a school building. The same possibilities of difference may be present with respect to recreation sites and facilities, or mass transportation, or some special type of public building such as a fire or police station. Rough unit prices can be given by the city engineer for street foundation or street paving according to accepted typical plans and construction design on a square-yard cost basis; for recreation facilities or school facilities on a unit-type cost basis; for sewer and water mains of approximately correct sizes on a linear-unit cost basis, and so on.

(337) These unit estimates will depend of course upon a prior designation of the types and density of the housing that is to be served by these public facilities, or the number and type and size of commercial or industrial buildings and facilities which will require public facilities to serve them. With this approach, however, it should be possible to set down a list of the "areas for treatment on an area basis," grouped as to types, and for each area to apply the appropriate unit cost estimates and secure a rough approximate estimate for the area.

(338) Care should be taken not to overlook any of the "off-site" indirect costs which were mentioned in paragraphs 245 and 229—a if those off-site expenditures have to be incurred in that portion of the entire community area represented by the last three items of the tabulation on page 59. To complete the general estimates involved by that tabulated list there must be calculated roughly the cost of each of the off-site public facilities (lower part of table) in terms of linear dimension of selected types of main thoroughfare, sewer, water, etc., at an agreed-upon unit price estimate; and in terms of unit-area cost for recreation sites of different kinds, and unit-building cost for structures.

(339) As indicated in the text descriptive of the preparation of the tabulation of physical needs, now being used as a guide, it is clear that there can and should be prepared a development of the tabulation which will particularize with respect to *areas* and *functional facilities*

and will include for each the roughly estimated costs. Thus the general financial background of theoretically possible expenditures will have been set down. It can be measured at once against the previously prepared plotting of the population's capacity to pay taxes directly or indirectly (see pars. 238-239), not as a fixed and final relationship but as a first exhibition of such relationship which probably will fluctuate from time to time.

(340) Gradually as a planned program is executed the variations of relationship can be restricted and corrected with more precision. Then and in the meantime the developed *"tabulation of needed improvements, with estimates"* will be a long-needed part of the community's official financial statements. It will also be an inventory of both public work projects and private work projects interdependent one with another.

(341) Although the discussion just ended has referred to broad and general calculations, there will have been under way more detailed and specific calculations of one locality and perhaps of one extensive project—the one most likely project to win support and go ahead. These detailed estimates will have influenced the broad calculations, in addition to crystallizing the financial calculation of all the direct and indirect costs of the project itself. See also paragraph 335.

Final Comment on Project "Design."

(342) Up to this point there has been no mention of project site "design," not because that is of least or latest concern (which is not true) but because there is much useful precedent which can be found elsewhere than in this handbook. See paragraphs 155-156. Differentiating the good from the bad is not the task of laymen but depends upon the exercise of two kinds of critical examination by experienced and competent specialists. One examination is a thorough analysis of the plans of seemingly good developments of different urban types, old or new; and a weighting of that kind of analysis against a similar analysis of the quality of site design and the development of existing areas with which a new redevelopment will be in competition. For example, close-in redeveloped areas devoted to housing will be in competition with housing for families of the same income level located in more or less attractive suburban districts. It is not Utopian to warn that newly redeveloped housing areas must be as attractive to prospective occupant families as are the outlying areas which now tend to lure these families to remoter locations.

(343) The second of the two critical examinations has to do with both site planning and architectural design. These never are and never can be separate considerations. When the time is ripe to consider architectural plans and building-group layout, the time has also

arrived for skilled and experienced services in producing a site plan. In fact the site planning function will determine the architectural function, and vice versa. In rare instances one person or firm may already have demonstrated ability to serve skillfully and well in both fields or, more accurately, to serve well in both parts of a field which is not divisible. If separate persons are engaged they *must work together and produce one over-all result*.

(344) The ideal set-up would permit the preparation of site planning and architectural studies in purely tentative and "study" form (but not developed with precision and detail) from time to time during the progress of the broad planning studies that have been outlined. But even that ideal procedure has its dangers. For example, a detailed design which is excellent (especially if presented in attractive form) may be so obviously good in itself that the observer overlooks the fact that that design is not appropriate for that place in the city, that it is not properly related to other parts of the city, that it attempts to be an advertisement for the designer rather than to provide for the people who will occupy and use the site and buildings, or that it provides for too many people. These and any other valid objections would be ascertainable if the broad planning studies had been brought up to the point of final summation. The real caution that is needed is not to allow site planning and architecture to crystallize definitely without previously having done an adequate job of broad planning study.

(345) To prepare thus thoroughly is to *lay the foundations for sound and orderly "civic design"*. If, beyond this, a community can differentiate between the charlatan and the really skillful aesthetic designer, and if it entrusts its designing to this latter type only, the promise of that community's attractive design will be assured. This avenue of exploration is not discussed. The attempt in this handbook has been an essentially undramatic one of laying foundations. What has been necessary to say has had to be presented in pedestrian fashion. It is as if we were to say to cities, "CHOOSE YOUR EXIT, WALK, DO NOT RUN" from your costly and hazardous maladjustments.

PART IX

ADJUSTMENT OF PUBLIC HOUSING TO PROGRAM

Public Housing Programs.

(346) In many localities there are legally established public housing agencies, dealing with one or more phases of a program to provide housing accommodations for families of low income who otherwise could not secure decent dwellings. Since the redevelopment program outlined in this handbook is directed to better and more effective urban planning, and to improvement in the means for acquiring large sites in blighted areas, it should be an aid to public housing authorities in accomplishing their purposes.

Conflicts.

(317) In the case of public housing agencies, emphasis has necessarily been placed upon the general purpose for which they are created. That purpose is not so specifically defined as to be *identical in all respects* with the purposes of a program for redesigning and rebuilding the urban community, as outlined herein. It is quite possible that a public housing project has been, or will be, so conceived that its purposes are not satisfactorily adjusted to the requirements of an existing or a replanned municipal area.

Coordination.

(348) Whether or not these agencies are "housing authorities" or state or local "housing boards," it is important that their studies and programs should be coordinated and integrated with the work of the planning agency, city realty corporation, and redevelopment corporations, as these agencies and their related functions are outlined in this handbook. The solution of the problem of integration *is not simply the adoption of an attitude of mind* which recognizes the redevelopment characteristic of the housing agency's program.

(349) Obviously, the basic social objectives of those directing a public housing program, and of those dealing with a city redesigning and rebuilding program, must of necessity be so nearly identical that there should be no conflict of their programs one with another. Assuming this, and assuming also that only "men of good will" are involved, the actual difficulties that need to be avoided are in the

effort or lack of effort *to adapt the two programs one to the other* in actual practice. It should be established clearly by law and practice that the cooperating relationship between the *housing agency* and the planning agency and the city realty corporation should be substantially of the same kind as has been outlined previously for the relationship of *redevelopment corporations* and the planning agency and the city realty corporation.

(350) The housing agency's choices of location of project, plan of site, character of development, and the financial procedures incident thereto, all should be brought into harmony with the master plans prepared by the planning agency, with the official financial and work programs which derive largely from those master plans, and with the parallel programs of redevelopment corporations.

Special Study Needed.

(351) There is need for an impartial inquiry to ascertain the possibility of reconciling, on the one hand, *the financial relationship* of a public housing project to the municipality with, on the other hand, *the financial relationship* of redevelopment projects to the city. Or, stated more broadly, the inquiry should be to discover an *over-all financial policy* which will be applicable, uniformly and without irreconcilable conflicts, both to such a program of redevelopment as is outlined here and to a program of public housing. This would be in the interest of the community as a whole.

(352) Because this handbook attempts to deal impartially with the subject matter, it is legitimate to offer a suggestion concerning the point now being discussed, namely, the not yet completely worked out adjustment of operating and financial policies of private and public housing. Points can be made, of varied significance, both for and against the idea outlined in the next paragraph.

(353) It is suggested, as applied to any community:

(a) that, of the total estimated amount of housing needed, public housing shall consist of that which private capital does not provide in either the traditional manner or operating through redevelopment corporations;

(b) that appropriate measures be devised by which, at any given time, a fair decision can be made that "public housing," *not itself subsidized*, shall be constructed, and the amount and character and location thereof;

(c) that such public housing may be leased or sold to redevelopment corporations or others to be operated as private rental housing;

(d) that private rental housing and public housing alike shall operate at so-called normal rentals calculated on an economic-rent basis;

(e) that families of sub-standard income may receive public assistance for shelter, in accordance with whatever public policy may be in effect, in the form of shelter certificates which represent to a landlord (and only to him) a sum in dollars which is the difference between the economic rental amount and the amount that a family unassisted can afford to pay;

(f) that sub-standard income families thus assisted shall share with the rest of the citizens of a community the opportunities and the difficulties of finding decent dwellings anywhere at appropriate rent levels;

(g) that the proper officials of a community shall pass and enforce laws which will encourage rehabilitation or compel prompt demolition of sub-standard housing.

PART X

FINANCIAL AID AND ITS QUALIFICATIONS

If Possible Local Community Should Repair Itself.

(354) In developing the thought expressed in this handbook, it has been the intention to encourage those attitudes and procedures which would enable a local community to carry out its program of redesigning and rebuilding with local public and private resources, and with an avoidance of or a minimum of public "subsidy" and its private equivalent, "philanthropy." But it has not been the intention to encourage any neglect of the conditions and the problems that require constructive thought and action.

(355) It would be highly desirable for the local community to make full and extensive studies and estimates along the lines suggested in this handbook and thus to discover *either that outside financial assistance is not necessary or that it is needed*, and the extent to which such aid is required for a first sizeable redevelopment enterprise.

(356) To anyone unfamiliar with municipal government finance, it probably would appear anomalous to state that the governments of the very cities which contribute so largely to the creation of the national income and wealth are less able to bear financial charges connected with rehabilitation and redevelopment than is the Federal Government. However, many municipal governments now are limited in the scope of taxation that they may impose. Often they are subject to specific restrictions on the real-property taxes which constitute their main source of revenue, and to limitations on their bonded indebtedness.

(357) If there were a thorough-going reform of taxation and public finance at all levels of government, cities might be placed in such a strong financial position that there would be no occasion to look to the State or Federal Governments for aid in handling such problems as redevelopment of their blighted areas.

(358) A step that should make easier the reform here mentioned would be to bring the cities and their adjacent suburban units up to the point of having such knowledge of themselves as

this handbook anticipates. Meantime, with respect to cities' "utilizing their own resources," a clue may be found in the practice of cities in recapturing from the State all or a part of certain revenues paid by local citizens. For example, refunds from gasoline taxes to be applied to repair and maintenance of local streets.

Aid from Federal Sources.

(359) However, in most instances, there can be little question but that, after a community has done its best to deal with the problem of redesigning and rebuilding itself, financial aid will have to be found elsewhere, possibly from Federal sources. The justification for this, in principle, would be the importance of urban economic health and stability to the economic health of the nation.

(360) It is well to bear in mind that the term "Federal aid" may include a more or less direct subsidy or grant, but also less direct assistance, of which mortgage insurance is one example. Possible Federal aid may be divided conveniently into three categories:

- (a) Aid to the local community officially in financing the acquisition of land and existing improvements for rehabilitation and redevelopment.

- (b) Aid in financing public improvements that are to be executed in conjunction with rehabilitation and redevelopment projects.

- (c) Aid in the form of mortgage insurance designed to assist urban redevelopment corporations in obtaining credit on favorable terms.

(361) Federal assistance that is now available might be directed toward the execution of rebuilding enterprises in blighted areas, if some of the powers and facilities in local communities, now either lacking or not exercised, were utilized. This is particularly true with respect to insurance of mortgages on rental housing projects by the Federal Housing Administration. To illustrate: A proposed redevelopment project might be well designed and be appropriate for the proposed location; private capital and the Federal Housing Administration both might be interested in making possible its execution; but the obvious hazard of the enterprise and the risk to invested private capital might seem to lie chiefly in the inferior and nonprotective characteristics of the areas surrounding the site in question. Under such circumstances the local community would have to devise and apply more restrictive zoning and other controls that would assure neighborhood protection to the proposed redevelopment. See

paragraphs 217, 315-316, and item 2 under paragraph 264. Such assurance of neighborhood protection ought to appeal to private investors. It certainly would be welcomed by the Federal Housing Administration.

What Kind of Financing Aid?

(362) Aid to the municipality in financing the acquisition of areas might be merely in the form of loans at a low rate of interest but with an appropriate margin above the going rate paid by the Federal Government on its own loans. Such a loan would involve no subsidy. (A loan at lower than the going Federal rate would involve a subsidy. However, if a subsidy were to be granted, a more direct form might prove more desirable.)

(363) Several considerations would enter into determining the form and extent of government aid for public improvements that might be carried out in conjunction with a redevelopment or rehabilitation project.

(364) It is not suggested that any Federal subsidy be granted to redevelopment corporations. However, study might be given to the possibilities of "mortgage yield insurance," of a type not now provided in the National Housing Act, to assist these corporations in obtaining investment funds on favorable terms. Whatever system is used should be such as to encourage local private capital to do its utmost to make redevelopment and rehabilitation projects feasible.

How Much Loan? Excessive Prices Penalized.

(365) In Part VIII, paragraphs 322-327, there has been suggested a "calculation backward" of all the costs of a proposed redevelopment enterprise, in such fashion as to reveal the figure in dollars which a redevelopment corporation may enter, with financial soundness, upon its books as the land-leasehold value of the site which is to be developed. Obviously, if there were to be a loan for land acquisition, the capitalized value of the leasehold would be the logical basis. If more than that sum must be paid to secure the site, the local government would require still further credit, which might be furnished on somewhat less favorable terms as the "ratio of site cost to site value" increases.

Conditions of Federal Aid.

(366) Should the Federal Government undertake through grants or subsidy, and through extension of credit, to aid in local redevelopment and rehabilitation, it will be concerned particularly with two points: (1) that each such undertaking shall be well-planned and well-considered, and of such great direct and indirect value to the

community as to amply justify all the local and Federal aid that may be granted; and (2) that reasonable precautions are provided against future actions that would seriously impair the benefits of the project. Hence, the conditions for Federal aid should provide not only for review of specific projects and of the competence with which they have been planned but for adequate local government, and standards of municipal finance.

(367) The following points, which might be included in any Federal legislation providing for aid, have been prepared with the foregoing requirements in mind, and are offered for comment and study:

1. Provision for Federal approval of, or regulations regarding (a) the boundaries of local "planning jurisdictions," (b) State laws specifying the duties and powers of the planning jurisdictions and of the local governmental units and agencies within them, and (c) the adequacy of the actual local planning agencies and their coordination.
2. Review of local master plans and of planning procedures, including the periodic revision of plans, with respect to conformance to general standards and scope, as specified in the act and the regulations thereunder.
3. Authorization of Federal loans and grants to aid in local redevelopment and rehabilitation projects meeting the above and other requirements, and provisions for possible alternative uses for funds made available under the act.
4. Standards for guidance in passing upon the financial, economic and social soundness of proposed redevelopment and rehabilitation projects involving Federal loans or grants.
5. Specific requirements designed to make certain not only that the title to lands acquired with Federal aid shall remain vested in public ownership, and that open spaces, bulk of buildings, etc., provided in the original plan shall be maintained, but that they shall remain subject to controls of the planning jurisdiction.
6. Specification as to the general manner in which the lands when built upon shall be leased for long periods to redevelopment corporations or to a public housing authority, or made available for streets or other public use.
7. Requirements for (a) elimination of substandard housing, and (b) legal application of such local standards for housing as would gradually develop an accepted policy and practice of "no payment for substandard structures" when property is condemned for public use.

8. Provision for suspending or refusing Federal aid to a planning jurisdiction (a) if it violates the conditions of specific agreements; or (b) if it makes changes in the master plan that the Federal agency would find to be detrimental to the usefulness and purpose of any redevelopment or rehabilitation project receiving Federal aid; or (c) if the local government finances and taxation system violate standards of soundness so as to imperil the security of projects.
9. Designation of the administrative agencies of the Federal Government to be entrusted with responsibility in the redevelopment program, and how these agencies and responsibilities shall be coordinated into an effective and equitable administration.

(368) Finally, the *primary* purpose of this handbook is not to make easy the spending of large sums of money for "work relief" upon *unplanned* projects. It is concerned to see an effective partnership of private capital and public capital in *planned* undertakings of vital public interest. It attempts to establish a pattern for local thinking and action *without which effective cooperation with Federal agencies, operating under such powers as the Congress may see fit to give, cannot be expected.*

